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MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA INDIANS, A HANDBOOK FOR TEACHERS.

BY- CRAWFORD, DEAN A. AND OTHERS

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THIS BOOKLET WAS WRITTEN PRIMARILY FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY TEACHERS WHO NEED TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE CHIPPEWA INDIAN PUPILS OF NORTHERN MINNESOTA. IT INCLUDES INFORMATION ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED PUPILS, CHIPPEWA CHARACTERISTICS, ATTITUDES CONCERNING INDIAN EDUCATION, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS OF INDIAN CHILDREN. CONSIDERABLE SPACE IS DEVOTED TO A RESOURCE UNIT CONTAINING AN ANNOTATED LIST OF SELECTED TEACHING MATERIALS, A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE SECTION, AN APPENDIX WITH ADDRESSES OF SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES SERVING MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA, AND A LIST OF HIGHER EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIAN STUDENTS. (ES)

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MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA INDIANS

A Handbook For Teachers

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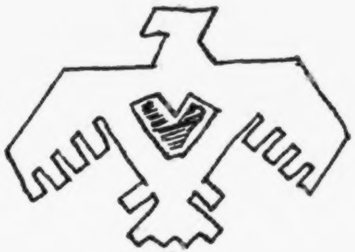

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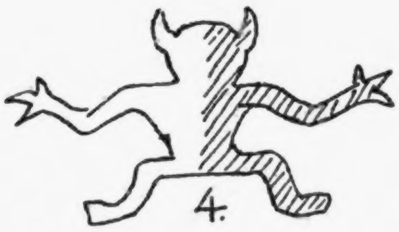

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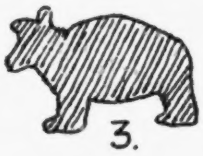

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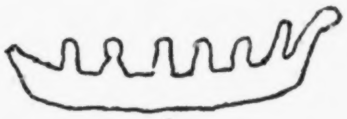

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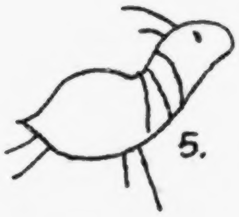

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2. War Canoes (Geemahnays)

3. Bear (Mahgwah)

4. Devilman (Mahchee Mahneedoo)

5. Kingfisher (Kishkemunasee)

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8. Night Panther

9. Land Tortoise (Mikenok)

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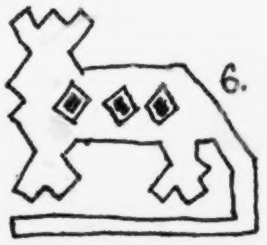

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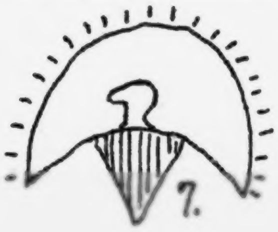

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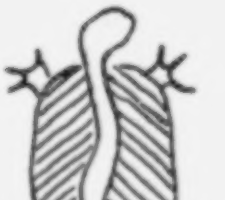

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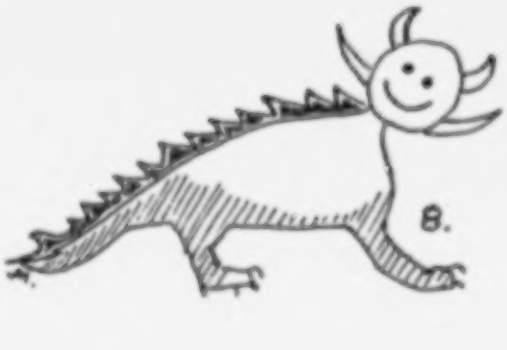

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MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA INDIANS.

A Handbook for Teachers

by

Dean A. Crawford
David L. Peterson
Virgil Wurr

UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY
2698 University Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55114

1967

THE AUTHORS

DEAN A. CRAWFORD is Professor of Education at the University of Minnesota, Duluth. He has previously taught social science and education in Iowa and Indiana. While on sabbatical leave during the 1966–67 school year, Dr. Crawford lived on the Nett Lake and Grand Portage Indian Reservations and also spent considerable time in the schools serving the Fond du Lac Reservation.

DAVID L. PETERSON has, since 1960, been principal of Cook County's elementary school at Grand Portage, Minnesota, where he and his wife provide the instruction. He is widely known in Minnesota for his efforts to preserve the Chippewa heritage, to teach elements of the language to his pupils, and to familiarize non-Indian people with Grand Portage.

VIRGIL WURR is principal of the Nett Lake, Minnesota, elementary school where he has taught since 1954. Prior to that time he taught Indian children at Morton, Minnesota. Mr. Wurr is also a certificated counselor and has been involved in counseling Indian students at both elementary and secondary levels and working with parents in the village of Nett Lake.

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PREFACE

> "Americans not in direct contact with Indians may not even be aware of their existence most of the time, and the experience of rediscovery, when Indians make headlines, may itself be disturbing. Indians are a reminder of a past that troubles the American conscience. . .The unique legal status of Indians, when it obtrudes and reveals that Indians may have special rights other citizens do not have, is equally disturbing. It offends the American sense of fitness and equality.
>
> They have survived the exterminations. . .the forced evacuations. . .and the concentration of tribal groups in restricted areas, stripped of their traditional land base. Most important of all, they have survived despite the generations of national effort to force assimilation upon them, for our dominant Indian policy from the beginning has been assimilation. . .The time is past when Indian communities can be dismissed as 'segregation' or as 'concentration camps'. . .
>
> How Indian is life in these communities? Measured by externals, by clothes and housing, by use of non-Indian technology and gadgets, or by ways in which many now make a living, it may appear that the people of these communities have on the whole adopted our ways . . The Indians have been making accommodations and adjustments to our society and economy from early times, and they continue to do so. . . But adoption of the externals of American life is not neatly correlated with accompanying changes in basic Indian attitudes, mind, and personality. Feelings and attitudes, the life of the inner man, change more slowly than utilitarian features of comfort and convenience.
>
> It has become increasingly probable that many of the (Indian) communities that have endured are likely to be with us for a long and indefinite future unless radical or brutal measures are taken to disorganize and disperse them. We may have to come to terms with a people who seem determined to have a hand in shaping their own destiny."[1]

The general public's impression of the Indian reservation of today is too often composed of misconceptions about a scene of poverty, backwardness, drunkenness, disrespect for the law, lack of education, community disorganization and laziness. They also have a vague and uneasy feeling that modern society is at fault; that the inroads of "civilization" have forced Indian people into a position of abandoning their traditions in order to survive. But this unfairly considers only certain characteristics of the lives of a few of the Indians who are most commonly observed. What is the picture of the rest of their lives, and those of their relatives and neighbors?

The authors of this handbook share feelings of guilt with the rest of the population concerning the historic abuses committed against the Indian peoples. That is not the motivation for this booklet, however.

The chairman of the Blackfeet Tribal Council spoke at a conference in early 1967, saying "Why is it so important that Indians be brought into the mainstream of American life? I would not know how to interpret this phrase to my people in our language."[2] Perhaps a concept so foreign as to be non-translatable needs re-examination.

We, as teachers, believe that Indians should be accorded the same rights as other citizens in choosing their way of life; that formal education in a public school can assist them in making those choices; that relatively few Indian children in Minnesota today are getting that kind of assistance; and that the two facets of this problem which we might be able to influence are (1) the Indian child's perception of himself and his aspirations, and (2) the teachers' attitudes concerning Indians and their education.

As we began work on this project, various Indian and non-Indian people suggested some rather pointed questions which needed to be faced. Most of these called for statements of opinions. As we found ourselves more and more impressed with the extent to which successful Indian education depends upon reasonable attitudes, we decided to utilize some of those questions as subtitles for appropriate sections of the booklet. Further description of the purpose of the handbook and its underlying philosophy is included in Chapter I.

We express our appreciation for the suggestions, contributions, and encouragement from the many people who played a part in this effort: in particular, Peter Dufault, Roger Jourdain, Maurice Ojibway, Allen Wilson, Erwin Mittleholtz, Walter Christopherson, Hildegard Thompson, Ada Deer and the parents, students and teachers from the Nett Lake, Fond du Lac and Grand Portage vicinities. Essential cooperation and funding is gratefully acknowledged from the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, the University of Minnesota, and the Minnesota State Department of Education.

I

Introduction

"WHAT'S A NICE KID LIKE YOU DOING IN A PLACE LIKE THIS?"

If the educational problems of Indian pupils were easy to solve, it would have been accomplished long ago. If the efforts of willing and able people were all that was required nothing would now be left of the problems. Many persons have pointed out to us, when we embarked on our study, that there are no simple solutions and that we were entering such a tangled and confused maze of facts, misconceptions and biases that we might never emerge intact. Others have criticized any mass approach, favoring instead efforts limited to single cases where tailor-made programs might develop. Certainly we realize the huge gap that may exist between wanting to help—and being able to help. Good intentions are not enough, but we decided to be "fools" and rush in anyway. Care to join us?

Even an active and altruistic organization as the League of Women Voters in Minnesota has admitted that Indian's problems are so complex as to discourage friendly interest. The majority of Chippewa children come from a home and community environment quite different from their non-Indian contemporaries. Their cultural heritage is different, their system of values is somewhat different, even their parent-child relationship is often different. A great many of them experience the problems common to any children from poverty backgrounds but those same problems are complicated by the cultural differences mentioned. The whole situation is also immeasurably complicated by experiences with racial discrimination, both subtle and overt.

Congressman Ben Reifel, an Indian himself, has teasingly paraphrased the apparent attitudes of many white people in suggesting "There must be some reasons, other than racial discrimination, poverty, friendlessness, lack of formal education...why individuals of Indian descent are not rising to the opportunities everywhere before them in this great country of ours."[3] As a matter of fact, there *are* additional reasons (as if those mentioned were not enough) and *he* went on to list a few. But many teachers of Chippewa children, particularly beginning teachers, seem to have little understanding of those reasons and almost no information about the Indians themselves other than a few typical stereotypes.

The one thing which all students of the situation agree upon, however, is that the key to long-range solutions to such problems lies in education. In turn, students of education agree that the key to successful education is within the teacher, so this is where we propose to concentrate.

This booklet has been written in the hope that it may prove of interest to a great variety of people: the Chippewa people of Minnesota, faculties of teacher education institutions, professional persons working with Indian people, students of Indian life, prospective teachers. However, it is not intended as a definitive reference work for any of those groups.

We are not interested in impressing the literary critic with a clever or facile prose style, nor the teacher educator with a blueprint for teacher preparation, nor the Indian reformer with fuel for his fire. We do not attempt to provide the social scientist with a rationale for understanding the Indian's problems, nor the researcher with a scholarly treatise, nor the educational psychologist with a deft application of personality or learning theory.

Instead, we have imagined our primary target audience to be the elementary or secondary school teacher who needs to learn more about the several Chippewa Indian pupils enrolled in some particular school in the "outstate" (or non-metropolitan) area of northern Minnesota. We have not considered specifically the education of Indian children of other tribes or regions, nor that of the metropolitan-urban child, nor that of the school populated almost entirely by Indian children. Perceptive teachers in those situations, of course, may find some information or ideas which are applicable to their classrooms. If so, the credit is theirs, not ours. The recommendations which we make with greatest confidence may not prove feasible even to some of our target audience and, if so, the blame is ours, not theirs.

We are increasingly convinced that Indian people cannot be catalogued into neat little groupings any more than can any other people. Each family, each community, each reservation and each school system has unique features which influence the education which a given child may acquire. The personal experience of the authors of this booklet is heavily concentrated with pupils residing in only two of Minnesota's smaller Chippewa reservations. Therefore, we are a bit hesitant to make the broader generalizations that seem necessary to approach an understanding of such a complex situation.

This reluctance, however, shall not serve as a convenient escape clause in our implied contract to offer suggestions and tentative judgements relative to the topics discussed here. The reader will understand, we trust, the exploratory nature of what is attempted here and will not render too harsh a judgement where we have erred in the direction of boldness in preference to timidity.

This edition of the handbook should be considered as a first step in our eventual effort. We hope that it will be refined, broadened and expanded as the state of the teaching art improves and as the related social and economic environment changes. Accordingly, we invite reactions from all quarters and will welcome the advice yet to come just as we acknowledge that already received. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Dean Crawford; University of Minnesota, Duluth; Duluth, Minnesota 55812.

"BUT IS THERE REALLY A NEED"

Minnesota's Chippewa population is variously estimated between 21,000 and 24,000 people. Of that number at least 12,000 live on or near the seven reservations, and the population is rapidly increasing. Although the Indian's death rate is frightening (the average age of Indians who died in 1964 was 44, according to the Division of Indian Health, P.H.S.), the ratio of births to deaths for Minnesota Indians is 5.44 compared to the figure for the total population of 2.79.[4]

With such a fantastically high birth rate, it is easily seen that any educational problems Indian children now encounter will be magnified in the near future. There is relatively little concrete evidence of such problems, for lack of specific study, but enough to verify the observations reported to us by experienced teachers of Indian children. For instance, recent annual reports by the Director of Indian Education in Minnesota routinely reveal that although the situation has greatly improved we still have an Indian drop-out rate approaching fifty per cent. The average daily attendance for Indian children averages two to five per cent lower than for non-Indian children in the same schools. Almost one-fourth of the Indian eighth graders are overage in grade and the figure increases for higher grades.

The total number of Indian boys and girls graduating from Minnesota High Schools has risen dramatically in the last few years but still is less than 200 per year. Only fourteen Indian young people are known to have graduated from four year colleges in Minnesota during the past year. In addition, Minnesota Indian children's school achievement is poor. A grade of "D" is the mode for them in high school academic subjects and standardized tests given by secondary schools usually rank them well below average in achievement. Yet, we have every reason to believe that Indian children are quite as intelligent as their non-Indian counterparts.

Finally, we must assume that the Indian pupil doesn't even reap the usual benefits from the extracurricular and social activities which the school provides...because he seldom participates in them.

Yes, there is a need; an educational need which is not adequately being met. Our experience suggests that there are a great many teachers and an even larger number of Indian parents who are sincerely trying to improve the situation, thereby implying their own awareness of the need.

II

Characteristics of Culturally Disadvantaged Pupils

"WHAT DO YOU MEAN, I'M DISADVANTAGED?"

Will Rogers is reported to have said, "We are all ignorant. Different people are just ignorant about different things." In the same sense, we are all disadvantaged; but in different ways. When we speak of someone who has "an advantage," we suggest that he has already acquired some of the traits that are necessary in reaching a specified goal—he has "an edge" over other competitors.

Our present concern is with educational goals; therefore, we will be speaking of disadvantaged pupils who have some characteristics which make it more difficult for them successfully to achieve the goals of the school system in which they find themselves. By adding the adjective "cultural" to "disadvantage," we narrow our attention to those characteristics which seem to stem from the particular sub-culture in which a person lives as opposed to traits which are hereditary, or physical, or otherwise defined. So our attention narrows here to concentrate on pupils who are educationally disadvantaged by reason of handicaps imposed by their sub-cultures.

But most teachers are disadvantaged in reaching another kind of goal; the goal of understanding pupils who come from what a sociologist would describe as the "low socio-economic class." Hildegard Thompson, former Director of Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, provides us with a convenient model description.[5] To paraphrase her description of your disadvantage: If you, the reader, are a classroom teacher in Minnesota, you are almost certainly a Caucasian, college educated child of an American middle-class family. You are accustomed to such conveniences as electricity, running water, indoor toilets, refrigeration, automatic clothes washers, and automatic cooking and housecleaning appliances.

You have grown up in an environment where books, magazines and a daily newspaper were taken for granted. Museums, art galleries, musical concerts, and the theater are not uncommon to you. You have traveled, perhaps extensively, in this country and maybe even abroad. You have experienced both the rush of crowded cities and the relaxation of the peaceful countryside. You often shop in huge department stores and supermarkets. You belong to many groups: church, fraternal, professional, business, and social. You have struggled, no doubt, to get ahead: have competed with others in scholastic activities and for jobs; have tried to accumulate assets for future security. You understand that the importance of stretching your wages from payday to payday and of attending to your debts takes high priority in the management of your affairs. You take pride in the ownership of property and increasing such ownership is among your goals. You understand and use insurance to minimize the risks of costly illness, property damage, or other loss.

Because of these experiences and beliefs, you are at a disadvantage in understanding certain of the pupils which you teach; namely, those who share only a few, if any, of the things mentioned. However, your school system probably is functioning in a way designed to encourage and reward pupils who share most of your middle-class way of life. (You are at an advantage in dealing with them, fortunately.)

It is unrealistic to expect that any school system which is serving a clientele, the majority of which is middle-class, will change its basic procedures to focus on the needs of a minority of its enrollment. Yet, most authors who deal with this problem suggest that the school system should accommodate itself to the needs of the disadvantaged pupils with a specially designed curriculum, with specially trained extra personnel, and with earlier intervention in the child's educational life.

In the school system that has relatively few such children enrolled it seems more realistic to emphasize the need for the individual teacher to acquire as much of the necessary understanding as he can. Perhaps the gap can be narrowed by simultaneously lessening the teacher's disadvantage by making him aware of what values he is imparting at the same time that he is working to lessen the pupil's disadvantage by deliberately providing middle-class types of experiences for him.

"ARE ALL INDIAN CHILDREN CULTURELY DISADVANTAGED?"

Certainly not—though all but the most thoroughly assimilated do have a cultural background that is different in some respects from the non-Indian. Nearly all Indian people in Minnesota would be considered as somewhat acculturated. That is, they have acquired many of the aspirations and much of the life-style of non-Indians living in similar economic circumstances around them. A few Minnesota Chippewa would be considered thoroughly assimilated. These people have become part of the dominant middle-class society, accepted its values as their own, and have largely relinquished their traditional attitudes and behaviors. In some cases, this has been true of specific families for a generation or more.

The children we are concerned about in this handbook, however, are those among the Indian population who are culturally disadvantaged in their striving to succeed in the middle-class oriented school. There are many who are in this category and who display the same characteristics as other disadvantaged children.

"WILL THE REAL DISADVANTAGED CHILD PLEASE STAND UP?"

Let us spend a few minutes in a general consideration of the meaning of "culturely disadvantaged" without regard to Indianess. As was mentioned above, some Indian children can be properly classified as disadvantaged but certainly not all. We have also suggested previously that we are only concerned here with the types of pupils who have some sort of disadvantage when it comes to successful achievement in school.

Although it is possible for culturally disadvantaged children to grow up in an economically well-to-do family, it is rare. The huge majority of culturally disadvantaged children share one facet of their environment which has an almost overwhelming impact—poverty. However, this implies much more than low income. Not all poor people are poverty-stricken. Our present concern is not with the child from a family that happens to suffer from financial problems, whether they are relatively short-term or extend over a period of several years.

True poverty, in the modern sense of that word, involves something much more significant to children than just low income. It involves certain attitudes which are all around the child as he grows up. Two such attitudes deserve special attention here.

First, there is an attitude common to truly poverty-stricken adults. It comes from their recognition that they are trapped; that there are no promising choices open to them in solving their problems. This type of person has gone through life experiencing almost continual rebuffs, insults and embarrassment whenever he encounters the dominant, or middle-class, society around him. He has been denied opportunities, public services, good education, impartial treatment, even human dignity. This may stem from the general society's attitudes toward his appearance, or his race, or his use of "proper" language, or his lack of formal education, or his lack of skill, of his physical handicaps, or his ethnic background, or his geographic isolation, or his style of life; or even simply because of a peculiar local prejudice.

Today, almost every child of true poverty can trace a family history of poverty back at least three generations. He grows up in almost exclusive contact with others caught in the poverty trap during his preschool years. As one generation follows another, this becomes a vicious circle. Because they are poverty-stricken, they are less apt to have access to really good education; to get truly helpful community services, good health treatment, impartial law enforcement. Such conditions naturally result in continued lack of success, continued low income, dependency on public assistance, and a growing feeling of defeatism.

The common result, then, of poverty experiences is a characteristic attitude that one's self is worthless and inferior. Of course, very few people in any walk of life will admit to having such feelings but sometimes, in unguarded moments and in subtle ways, they come to the surface. Sociological studies of poverty also support our personal observations of the pervasiveness of this defeatist attitude and low opinion of oneself. In an educational setting, for example, the child of poverty, Indian or not, usually believes that he really is "dumb" and that he just can't learn anything that is very difficult.

This is in contrast to past eras of our history when the "poor but honest" people worked hard, were generally respected, and often improved their economic situation, at least a little bit. Even the very poor people in the underdeveloped nations of the world today have a realistic hope that their life will steadily improve and that their children will be better off than they were. But the trap of modern American poverty has provided little such hope, until very recently.

Second, there is an attitude about poverty which a great many, probably a majority,of our typical middle-class people hold. This attitude doesn't take into consideration the things just mentioned. Instead, it holds that, although we feel sorry for his plight, the poor person has somehow brought his ills upon himself; that those who are chronically unemployed could really find work if they just wanted to. Further, it holds that those people who exist largely on public assistance ("welfare") are really playing a sort of "con" game on the rest of us taxpayers and are just too lazy or "good-for-nothing" to take care of themselves decently.

We believe that while there may be some persons who deserve such a description, the larger number of those who live in poverty do not, Rather, most of them are people who are convinced that they aren't much good anyway and that accepting some particular job will lead to only another failure, to further rebuffs, to further exposure of weakness and loss of what little self-respect may remain.

Whether a given poverty-stricken person truly lacks ability or not; whether he is actually doomed to failure or not, doesn't matter here. He believes it. He really believes it. So it is certainly understandable if he prefers not to invite further embarrassment and psychological destruction. Perhaps he may even become extremely clever and shrewd in avoiding it.

It behooves a teacher to view such a predicament much as a social psychologist might; to try to understand it and to appreciate the motivations of the victim, rather than to act as society's judge and subconsciously to attempt to punish poverty out of existence.

With such a social psychologist's view as a goal, we invite your consideration of a list of attitudes and characteristics of the real disadvantaged child. Many of these are adapted from various basic references[6] but all of them are also supported by our empirical knowledge.

Let us make completely clear that we are not presenting a list of traits of Indian children at this point. In order to set the stage for a more specific description at a later time, we should first understand the general nature of the disadvantaged child, whether he be Indian or non-Indian, whether he lives in a rural area or urban ghetto. Following that, we can narrow the focus of our attention to Indian children in general, and eventually consider those particular Indian children who might be considered disadvantaged.

The many Indian pupils who are not culturally disadvantaged will not fit the following description, and are not the concern of this booklet. They are among the large mass of American school pupils who are sharing normal school experiences and educational success. There are some Indian children who do fit our definition of "culturally disadvantaged," however, and they do share one or more of the following characteristics with great numbers of non-Indian deprived rural and urban youngsters throughout the nation. What, then, are some of their characteristics?

1. He probably doesn't trust middle-class people very much; especially those that have some authority over him. This is a practical judgement, often reached at least by age six or seven and sometimes quite a bit earlier. It is not just rebelliousness or uncooperativeness but is based on his often harsh experiences and his observation of the experience of those around him.

2. He's mostly concerned about things that are immediate and practical. By the time he's an adolescent it is apparent that this has blossomed into a preoccupation with present–day satisfactions. Working for a long-range goal is out of the question. Saving up for a rainy day is foolish. And things which are abstract; such as ideas, thoughtful opinions, concepts, generalized statements, theories; these things are bypassed in favor of very practical matters. Children who have to wake themselves in the morning, dress themselves, get their own breakfast or go hungry, dodge adult cruelty frequently, learn to cope with adult neglect or even rejection as very small children;–such children have learned to concentrate on immediate problems and practical matters of survival. They haven't had the time nor the opportunity to play around with the world of thought. But this doesn't mean that they can't solve problems. Many of them have solved more problems in just getting to the school for a day than most children do in a full day of schooling.
3. He may not respond very quickly to teacher approval, or care to work very hard just for good marks or other conventional rewards. His own prejudice may keep him from accepting teacher approval even if it is given sincerely. As he gets a little older and more skillful in manipulating the world about him, he may even discover that the ability to frustrate the teacher will bring him more satisfaction than he gets from cooperation. One way to frustrate the teacher is to gather allies, to recruit others, expecially younger adolescents, in trying to frustrate the school. The older adolescent may exert pressure through physical threats until a younger child is faced with a prospect of pleasing the teacher to buy success in a vague and distant future, but at the expense of making his present life lonely, unhappy, and even dangerous. Most disadvantaged youngsters don't have to think twice about such alternatives.
4. He finds that much of what he encounters in schooling is a kind of fairy tale. The stories which are read, the things other children tell about, the people described in his early readers, even what he sees on television or in movies; these are not like the life he knows. So what he may learn from them he does not apply outside of school. If they cause him to think about his own way of life at all, it may be only in a way that makes him unhappy and self-conscious.
5. The previous point also applies to language. He is not initially adept in the type of verbal communication, the sort of talking, common to school. His grammar is different, his vocabulary is much more limited, and his experience in having to express himself is much more limited. For example, he may never have had the true op-

portunity to use language to persuade an adult to change his position. He can't communicate some of his feelings through speech and he can't understand some of what he hears. He's not accustomed to paying careful attention to some adult's lengthy explanation or set of instructions. He much prefers to limit himself to physical learning, rather than to the more culture-bound skills of listening or watching.

6. For these same reasons, he's probably a slow learner in skills that depend upon language as so much of our school work does. Keep in mind, being a *slow* learner, doesn't mean the same as being stupid. Take the word "slow" literally here. This slow child is slow in his thought processes since they depend upon language. It takes him longer. He considers something carefully and cautiously. In later years, this becomes most evident in comparison with other students when the disadvantaged child may do very poorly on a test for lack of time, but, given enough time, may do very well indeed. In fact, sometimes he avoids the pitfalls of going rapidly.
7. This child probably has poor work habits, by the school's standards. His attention shifts from thing to thing rapidly. We say "his attention span is short" but that only means he hasn't been taught to attend to something over a longer period. It doesn't mean that he can't *learn* to do it. This child is also poorly organized. His thoughts and his time are poorly organized, because that takes advance planning (that's what organization *is*) and he's more used to reacting to things in the present, on the spur of the moment, as we've mentioned before. And, since so many school tasks may seem meaningless to him, and he's not about to do it just because the teacher said to, he may be quite willing to skip or ignore something difficult with a "so what" attitude.
8. He will lack many of the usual middle-class social experiences in his background and his behavior is therefore different. Such things as these may be affected: politeness, asking permission, taking turns, respecting private property, having parties, respecting privacy, etc. This doesn't mean that he's necessarily thoughtless or mean or rude; it only means that he has learned a different type of behavior.
9. He doesn't expect very much of himself. In our terms he "has low standards of performance" or "he has a low level of aspiration." But this, too, is surely based on experience. He just doesn't believe that he can do the task very expertly anyway, so he may be perfectly satisfied with less than his best. As a part of this, he tends to give up on something quite easily and he may even speak badly of himself and his achievement. As we've suggested earlier, he's apt to have acquired a poor

self-image.

10. He may have a very low energy level, too. He may fatigue easily and not be very strong or have much endurance even though he may appear normal or even husky from a diet heavy on carbohydrates. There may be factors of poor nutrition or inadequate sleep or poor health involved. This is especially true of very young children in a neglect situation, of course, often becoming less common as the child gets older and more able to fend for himself.
11. He may be poorly dressed, physically dirty, and largely ungroomed. This may be directly traceable to poor housing and lack of money but basic attitudes are usually involved, too. Neatness and cleanliness are simply not so important in his everyday life as they are to most middle-class Americans.
12. Last is a characteristic that is also related to adults caught in poverty. This is the fact that they view education almost entirely in terms of its job market value. If a child is encouraged by parents at all about schoolwork, it is accompanied by real or implied statements about being able to get a job, based on high school graduation. This is related to the attitudes mentioned earlier dealing with practical and present-day goals. Yet he finds himself attending something other than a vocational school. Much of the curriculum is justified for reasons other than vocational; reasons which no one has ever explained to the disadvantaged child and which he might not be able to accept anyway.

"WHEN IS A DISADVANTAGE REALLY AN ADVANTAGE?"

There are a few additional traits commonly associated with disadvantaged children which don't necessarily handicap his schooling. Given certain circumstances, they actually may be seen as advantages, or at least characteristics which a wise teacher might exploit advantageously.

13. The disadvantaged child is probably less inhibited than the middle-class child when it comes to expressing anger, joy, and some other emotions although his methods of expressing them may be somewhat limited. Clearly, the schools' job here is to give him additional ways of expressing his feelings; particularly through language and arts and crafts.
14. He is capable of meaningful and loyal personal relationships. There is probably a tradition of cooperativeness and mutual aid within his poverty group of which he is aware. The result often is a "feeling" for at least certain people that is quite deep. Sometimes there is less rivalry and competition with his peers. He will probably not object to a request to help someone else. Also, it often seems that there is less of an automatic gulf between the generations. His bias is more directed

at adults who are authorities, not, however, against adults just because they're adults, as sometimes seems to happen with middle-class children. We have seen social groupings of such people made up of individuals who were all the way from pre-school age to some in their 60's— calling one another by first names, too!

15. He may be very resourceful in the practical world. Some of the things he's learned, in order to survive, may not be very "nice" by our standards; such things as stealing, lying, escaping detection, etc. But it does bring about a certain maturity and toughness and self-reliance, at least in some situations.
16. He may be quite accustomed to performing very responsible family chores, baby-sitting, for example.
17. He often has superior physical coordination and skills; he's had to rely on doing, not talking; and most of his recreation has been physically active rather than as a spectator.
18. He is probably used to quite a bit of teasing and bantering and often is not overly sensitive if someone pokes a little fun at him. This usually helps to develop a pretty good sense of humor, too.
19. Again, we will add one item that is more related to disadvantaged adults: this sort of person is less readily fooled by status and prestige. You've got to prove yourself as a human being to him and can't rely on ready-made respect because of your position or title.

Although perhaps no single disadvantaged child will possess all of these characteristics, he will ordinarily display enough of them to ensure that he is not likely to succeed in most classrooms. He may begin school well enough but his disadvantages soon come to the fore and he starts losing ground. The longer he stays in school, the "farther behind" he gets until in secondary school he is usually overage in his grade by at least one year and educationally retarded at least another year. He is an especially poor reader which naturally handicaps him in the other academic areas.

This pattern persists until he is generally found to be continually failing his subjects or else just barely passing, depending on the attitudes and policies of his school. Of course, that is just what he expected the situation to be—and just what his teachers probably expected, too.

In addition to often being a disadvantaged child, the Indian pupil may possess other traits which are rooted in his heritage. Those, too, may be viewed as either strengths or weaknesses, depending upon the goal and the situation. The next chapter considers some of those which are particularly relevant to the work of the school.

III

On Being Indian

"IS THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN A RED INDIAN?"

Anyone who is acquainted with a number of Minnesota's Chippewa people is aware that they show no uniformity as to physical type or skin color. From a given set of parents, for instance, may be found children who are brown-eyed with straight black hair and a deep, richly tan skin color, but other offspring who are blue-eyed blondes with fair skin. Throughout the Indian's history there were varying physical types, of course, and this variety has been accentuated through intermarriage with non-Indians. Probably fewer than ten per cent of Minnesota's Chippewa are "full-bloods" today; i.e. have no known non-Indian ancestry as far back as it can be traced.

There is considerable difference of opinion about the identification of Indians, even among themselves. In order to be legally qualified for receiving some types of privileges, such as certain college scholarship aid, a person must prove at least one-fourth Indian "blood". In other words, if one of the four grandparents was a full-blood, the grandchild could be classified as Indian. The records of Indian Agencies and tribal enrollments are generally used for verification.

Generally speaking, Indians are considered to be those people who have declared themselves as Indians and have been accepted for official enrollment as members of a given band, for example the Boise Forte Band. Even this recognition is not crucial for the classroom teacher, though.

It seems to us much more important to identify the pupil who thinks of himself as Indian, or largely Indian; who has grown up in an Indian family and who has been exposed to a childhood environment in which others considered him to be Indian. If there are, in fact, any identifiable Indian attributes, such a pupil will probably have acquired them. Incidentally, it is our experience that children, with their typical open-mindedness, do not concern themselves with such distinctions. A child may be aware of being an Indian himself but pays no real attention to whether his childhood playmates are Indian or not.

The teachers' concern should be with the influence that Indian environment has on the developing child; just as they are similarly concerned about any child's environment. Blood quantums or family trees are only technical ways of charting a person's ancestry. This booklet directs its attention instead to pupils who have acquired the characteristics described in Chapter IV, regardless of the legal classification of those pupils.

"CHIPPEWA OR OJIBWA?"

Many non-Indians are confused about the tribal names used to identify the Chippewa. In their own language, Chippewa refer to themselves as "Anishinabe" (a phonetic rendition sometimes spelled in other ways; literally "first or original or spontaneous man.") Since the most prominent early contacts with European civilization came when this group was concentrated around Sault St. Marie, French explorers and traders often designated them as "Saulteaux."

Some authorities believe that the word "Ojibwa" or "Ojibway" (commonly used in contemporary Canada) was a version of an Indian word referring to a "pucker" which might, in turn, refer to the type of string-puckered moccasins this group commonly made. It is also possible that it was simply a phonetic spelling of a mispronunciation of "Anishinabe." In any case, the term "Chippewa" was a further mispronunciation of Ojibwa and has now become the common legal reference to this group of upper midwest Indians.

The resource unit, which follows later, describes in more detail how six of the Minnesota bands have come together to form the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and the seventh and largest Band remains autonomous as the Red Lake Band. A qualified Chippewa may belong to his appropriate Band whether or not he currently resides on that Band's reservation.

Occasionally, the reader may see reference to such groups as the Lake Superior Chippewa, or the Mississippi Chippewa, etc. These terms refer to the general groupings which were in effect at the time of the treaties which ceded Indian lands to the United States. They are sometimes important when matters involving treaty rights and reparations are being determined.

"WHY WOULD ANYONE LIKE THAT SORT OF LIFE, ANYWAY?"

We are frequently asked about life on, or near, a Minnesota Indian reservation, in ways that suggest that the person asking the question is baffled that anyone might prefer such a life. Yet many Indian people are equally baffled about the supposed attractiveness of living in a high-density populated area. Let us consider, for a moment, the way in which a "reservation Indian" might view the life of the middle-class urban dweller. He might ask you many questions about your life.

Why are you so materialistic? Must you always judge other human beings on the basis of their acquisition of worldly goods? Why do you measure success in terms of dollars? We don't have that kind of status-seeking or "keeping up with the Joneses" on the reservation.

Aren't you a lot busier than you need to be? It seems you are caught up in so many unimportant little tasks, running errands, hurrying from one meeting to the next, continually watching the clock. Don't you belong to too many organizations? In fact, isn't your whole life over-organized? We avoid getting caught in the "rat race" by living as we do.

Haven't you gotten to the point of being too competitive? Don't lots of folks get hurt in your struggle for success at someone else's expense? Isn't there a lot of pressure to excel, to do better than "the next guy" in business, in education, in your social relations, even in recreation? We don't play that kind of oneupsmanship very much where I live.

Why can't you seem to relax? Why do even little frustrations and setbacks upset you so seriously? Can't you learn to accept the facets of life that you're incapable of changing? And what about your complaints of boredom? Your housewife is bored, your teenagers are bored, even your exalted steady wage-earner complains about wanting to "get out of the rut."

What about the impersonality of the big city? Wouldn't you feel better if you knew your neighbors better? How can you possibly stand to live in a crowded set of houses with little privacy; or, worse yet, in an apartment development, like a bee in a hive? And speaking of bees, don't you show a longing to get back in closer touch with nature? We chuckle at the man who works himself to a frazzle in order to afford a quiet spot in the country for his vacations or for a retirement home.

Whatever happened to your individuality? It seems as if the middle-class city dwellers all dress alike, talk alike and punish anyone who doesn't conform. Isn't that the meaning of the complaints about "the organization man" or "the man in the grey flannel suit?" Can't you keep from interfering in the lives of other people? Why don't you "let your hair down" and just be yourself? We'd let you live like that on the reservation.

And so, many Indian people look at the city and wonder, "Why would anyone want to live like that?" And many non-Indians look at the reservation and ask the same question. Of course, most people feel a certain nostalgia for the neighborhood or their youth. They would like either to live there as adults or to visit there from time to time. Even though people are highly mobile today, travel is costly and many Indian people cannot afford the weekly or monthly trip to "the cabin" or "the old home town" or "to visit the folks." It is both convenient and reassuring to live close to relatives and close to familiar scenes.

One Indian man of our acquaintance describes his feelings about this eloquently. He has saleable skills that have enabled him successfully to live and work in several non-Indian communities in past years. As a serviceman he traveled abroad and extensively in this country. Yet, he says, no matter how interesting or happy his life away from the reservation, he "always felt homesick" for the woods and lakes of northern Minnesota. Surely anyone can understand how he feels about home, regardless of one's own attitude toward the North Woods.

"ISN'T THERE AN EXCESSIVE AMOUNT OF CRIME AMONG INDIANS?"

The implication is that Indians have a higher crime rate than non-Indians. Figures are difficult to obtain on this point, of course. Most crime statistics do not identify Indians, as such, and many "complaints" may never result in an arrest and never be included in the records.

As the next chapter suggests, the Chippewa traditionally felt that crimes were usually punishable by the victimized individual and so they were not accustomed to the idea of a police system. Following establishment of the reservations, federal authorities were responsible for law enforcement rather than having the local non-Indian "society" taking part. In the modern era, however, local city or county officers have jurisdiction over the majority of crimes committed on the "open" reservations. Red Lake, as Minnesota's only "closed" reservation, has its own officers for the bulk of the law enforcement jobs.

Our general observation suggests that "major" crimes are probably no more frequent among Indian people than among others. In fact, major crimes against other persons, such as murder, armed assault, etc., are probably less frequent. The largest numbers of offenses have to do with family squabbles, highway (automobile) infractions, and petty thievery; all of them frequently associated with drinking.

In some cases, local officers are reluctant to act with consistent vigor because of the distance to the site of the offense. A sheriff often has more important use for his time than driving thirty miles in the middle of the night to pick up someone who will only be charged with a misdemeanor anyway. Sometimes other Indian witnesses are reluctant to sign an official complaint, so often no formal charge can be lodged.

Even the employment of a resident Deputy doesn't really solve the problem, though it may act as an occasional deterrent and is certainly a reminder to area citizens that an officer of the law is familiar with their behavior. Offenses which do little harm to other people, like public drunkenness, are often overlooked, and others, like some petty theft, may be tactfully resolved without recourse to the courts.

Indian crimes sometimes get special emphasis in local news media and there is also some indication that Indians may not receive fair and impartial treatment at the hands of all judicial and enforcement officers. Minor crimes are a frequent and serious problem on some reservations but not, perhaps, to the extent that it sometimes seems. And it is refreshing that Indians can even see some humor in the unfair stereotype. One white man of our acquaintance was preparing to leave a reservation after an extended stay and was told with tongue-in-cheek "You can't leave yet! We haven't even had time to steal anything from you."

"IS THERE REALLY A SERIOUS DRINKING PROBLEM?"

This is probably the most frequently asked question among non-Indians who live close enough to Indian people to observe their behavior. Indian leaders also point to alcohol as the number one social problem.

Physically, there is no explanation for the fact that those Indians who drink alcoholic beverages seem to get drunker faster and stay drunker longer. Physical drunkenness is a result of the drinker's blood circulatory system not being able to oxidize the alcohol as fast as it is absorbed into the system. Oxidization rates of Indians are the same as those of other people. Therefore, the reasons must be sought elsewhere.

Critics of Indians frequently cite "evidence" to show the compulsion for alcohol which has caused an Indian to lose his job, or neglect his family, or get into trouble with "the law." They note the crimes of violence committed by Indians under this influence. They remark on the drinking parties, the litter of beer cans or wine bottles, the promiscuous behavior they believe takes place, or the Indians they have seen among skid-row bums.

There is little doubt that these observations are basically accurate. Heavy drinking is part of the way of life of many,though by no means all, Indians. Although Alcoholics Anonymous has offered effective help to a few, most Indian drinkers are not diseased with alcoholism. Indians who drink heavily themselves almost unanimously are at a loss to explain their own behavior, except for the revealing phrase, "I drink to get drunk" or "to pass out."

We are of the opinion that the drinking problem has varied psychological causes which extend beyond our specialized training to analyze fully. However, a few basic considerations suggest themselves.

First, nearly all people caught in poverty, as it was described earlier, are somewhat subject to the same weakness. The use of large volume, cheap drinks (beer and cheap wine) is readily available and tempts temporary escape from the life of "quiet desperation."

Second, until quite recently, the Indian was denied legal access to alcohol. Years of depending upon bootlegged liquor or "homebrew" which had to be consumed right away en toto to "drink up the evidence" have left their mark.

Third, Chippewa Indians traditionally suppressed their emotions, particularly those associated with hostility. Even in the modern world, his experiences certainly give ample cause for hostile feelings. Some of the traditionally accepted releases for emotional behavior are no longer available—warfare, spontaneous dancing, and sorcery, for example. Perhaps alcohol now serves as a substitute. There is evidence that various drugs, taken in pill form, are also being used in increasing quantity by Indians. (Another boon of civilization!)

Fourth, heavy drinking as a social activity has a self-perpetuating character which can be seen in other societies as well. An Indian seldom drinks alone; he seldom refuses to grant a favor; he seldom refuses a gift—to do so would give insult. So he is particularly vulnerable when a friend either buys and offers a drink or when one asks that he buy alcohol with money he is known to have. A drinking party may start at any hour or any day of the week if the ingredients are present. Once drinking is established as a thing generally done within a given group, then adolescents are gradually initiated too and the habit persists.

Finally, where there are few social controls, where non-interference in other's affairs is a virtue, human weaknesses are not so concealed. The Indian's drinking is right out there for all to see. It is a serious problem, to be sure, but may be somewhat exaggerated because of its visibility. And let us not forget that the big drinking "party" was basically unknown to Indians until Europeans deliberately seduced them with alcohol. It certainly was not, and is not, an inherited characteristic.

A number of casual writings also mistakenly suggest that Indians are innately artistic and physically graceful ("I just love Maria Tallchief") but are also lower in intelligence than white people. Social scientists convincingly demonstrate, instead, that such things are learned behaviors.

"AREN'T THERE SOME INDIAN TRAITS OF INTELLIGENCE OR PARTICULAR SKILLS WHICH ARE RACIALLY INHERITED?"

No.

"WHY HASN'T THE INDIAN BEEN AS SUCCESSFUL AS THE IMMIGRANT IN GETTING AHEAD?"

In part, the answer to this question might depend upon one's definition of success. Using the usual middle-class measures of ownership of property, annual income, good health and civic responsibility, the Indian does not rank high. Neither, for that matter, does the Negro, the Mexican-American, etc.

The person who poses this question often has the European immigrant in mind for his contrast. Let us consider some of his characteristics which the American Indian does not share.

The European immigrant represents a select group because of his aggressiveness or boldness in leaving the "old country" to come to the "new world." His reasons may have involved escape from a distressing situation, but he nevertheless had the courage to pack up and leave, in contrast to his countrymen who remained behind. Of course, his "new world" was the Indian's "old country." There was no exciting, rapidly progressing nation of opportunities which invited the Indians' migration.

The European immigrant, at least over a span of two or three genertions, welcomed and accepted the American culture as his own. In the first place, it was rooted in the same traditions, occupations, religions and mores which he had known. In the second place, distinct old world customs, which he regarded with pride as his heritage, were still alive and functioning in Europe. It was not a choice of accepting new customs at the price of obliterating the old from the face of the earth.

The European immigrant does not represent a conquered people overwhelmed by the surrounding social "army of occupation." Neither does he carry the burden of generations of dependency, of years of being refused even the right to qualify for citizenship, and of degrading experiences as either actual or de facto wards of the government.

Lastly, most European immigrants carry no stereotyped skin color or suffer under any imposed "racial" stigma. This is not to say that there has not been discrimination, even severe and vicious treatment, of immigrants. But it has been easier for them to physically "pass"or to merge into the dominant Caucasian population. They may have had ghettos but these carry a different kind of stigma than legally reserved tracts of low quality, isolated land.

"WHY NOT JUST ABOLISH THE RESERVATION?"

In the first place, the future of the Indian reservation is the Indian's business to decide, and his alone. Official government policy has vacilated over the years from support for the type of reservation system which encourages Indian dependency to explicit attempts to terminate the reservations entirely. In fact, the word "termination" arouses extremely stong, and mixed, reactions from contemporary Indian groups.

Termination of two reservations in recent years (the Menomonie and Klamath tribes) has not resulted in the progress the proponents expected.[7] But let us make the moral point abundantly clear: the present Indian-owned lands are the last remnants of the huge territory once under their control and "ownership;" the fact that the Indians had little real choice or were divested of their rights under questionable circumstances in the 19th Century only sets a precedent which should be assiduously avoided today.

Most people who suggest abolishing the reservation system realize, no doubt, that such a move does little to attack directly the problems that confront people living there. The suggestion does imply a sincerely motivated desire to see more and more Indian people thoroughly assimilated into the mainstream of American life, but this, too, seems to us to be a choice for the Indian to make for himself.

"BUT SHOULDN'T TOTAL INDIAN ASSIMILATION BE THE ULTIMATE GOAL?"

We certainly hope the Indian people don't come to accept this. While it is true that there are numerous examples of Indian individuals who have assimilated into the general society through a combination of their own efforts and assistance from governmental or other agencies, it is our belief that such efforts should not anticipate inclusion of all Indians in the future. Opportunities for Indians to receive special training, assistance in relocating geographically, aid in adjusting to new communities and ways of life, etc., should be continued but not viewed as compulsory nor perhaps even desirable for some.

Our society should now aspire to the mature status wherein a person becomes acceptable, and then respected, not because he shows the ability to adopt protective coloration and become "just like us" but rather because he is different; thereby lending interest and variety to our culture. It should become our task to learn what we can from him (such as that which a previous section implied about problems of urban life) just as it has been his task to learn what he can from us.

In order for this stage to be reached, however, the Indian must retain something of his unique culture. The school can play a part in encouraging knowledge and pride concerning his specific tribal heritage. Effective Indian organizations, striving to retain their rights, cultural identity and special viewpoints, are to be supported. Through such organizations even the assimilated Indian may find a strengthened sense of identity and help to provide leadership and to preserve his ties with the Indian community.

Another way of stating the position is to say that the assimilated Indian has made a place for himself often in spite of a partial loss of identity—not because of it. For many of his "brothers," a further loss of identity might be a mortal blow. This is not to say that they are weaker; only that their psychological needs are apparently different.

It is true that the authors of this booklet have accepted without argument the fact that the schools attended by most of the children with whom we're concerned are middle-class oriented and, realistically, will remain so whether we like it or not. Therefore, educational suggestions which follow are designed to assist the Indian pupil in succeeding, academically, through the acquisition (at least temporarily) of certain middle-class types of behavior. But we see no reason that he cannot become adept in those behaviors without destroying his "Indianness." Practically all people develop some degree of skill in behaving in different ways depending upon the environmental situation. Indians are frequently amused, for instance, at the behaviors and language of men who visit the reservation on hunting or fishing vacations; behavior which contrasts with the way they act otherwise. "I'll bet he doesn't do that at home!"

We advocate strengthening the Indian pupil's sense of cultural identity at the same time that he is learning to abide by the school's practices in order to succeed in the school environment. He may then arrive at a point in life where he can select the sort of life which is most satisfying to him. In truth, of course, his present life is already strongly influenced by non-Indian culture. His dress, hair style, vocabulary and desire for certain types of goods reflect this and will be considered in further detail in the next chapter.

An allied matter is the strange reaction of persons outside the reservation when they observe an Indian, often with a reasonably good education, decide that he prefers life back on the reservation to that which he experiences outside. Is this not his free choice to make? Is this not immeasurably better than the Indian who is not given the opportunity to make such a choice because of lack of skills, or of education, or because of discrimination? Are we to discourage the presence of trained leadership on the reserves? Is it any surprise that any human being would find the life style of his childhood, his lifelong friends, his ancestors, irresistably attractive? We suggest that an Indian's decision to return to the reserve is neither better nor worse than his original decision to leave it.

"WOULDN'T IT BE BETTER TO IGNORE INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS ALTOGETHER?"

Certain teachers pride themselves on being unaware of a child's racial or ethnic background, bragging that "I don't care where they come from or what color their skin is, I treat all my pupils alike." In making such a statement, however, the teacher has admitted to ignoring one of the most significant single facets of the child's development and self-perception.

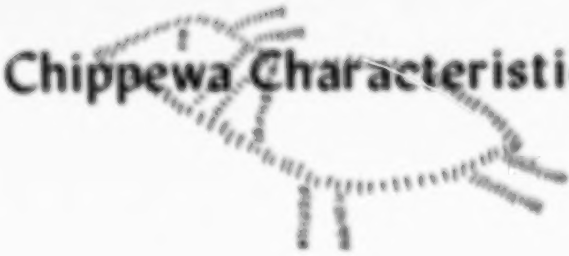
We all recognize the uniqueness of our own family and ethnic background; many of us are even inordinately proud of our ancestry. Why should we fail to recognize its importance in others? Surely there is nothing undemocratic in being aware that an Indian is an Indian or that a Caucasian is white (or pink, for that matter.) The fact that many officially listed Minnesota Chippewas do not have the distinctive physical attributes thought to be characteristic of Indian people has no real importance in this connection. The thing which is important is the individual's view of himself. If he thinks of himself as an Indian, then he is an Indian, insofar as he thinks about such things.

And to the extent that his childhood has been spent in an Indian environment, then his personality develops somewhat differently than a child from a Caucasian or an Oriental environment.

The wise teacher utilizes such information, and all available information, about pupils to the educational advantage of the child.

IV

Chippewa Characteristics



Although it is probable that the various tribes of North American Indians share a common ancestry, "national" identifications among them are long-standing. An Indian today commonly thinks of himself as Chippewa first, and Indian second. This kind of distinction, over hundreds of years, has certainly led to tribal characteristics.

Yet our own experience and knowledge is not broad enough for us to hazard statements about which characteristics are uniquely Chippewa rather than, for instance, Cherokee. The following description, then, should be taken as our personal effort to identify those traits which we believe are present in the majority of non-assimilated Chippewa people today. Undoubtedly many of them also exist in other Indian cultures.

In general, we have tried to consistently identify these characteristics as they appear to an observant non-Indian. The reader should keep constantly in mind that we do not presume to interpret these behaviors as an Indian might, although it is sometimes difficult to avoid giving that impression. All Minnesota Indians are acculturated in varying degrees and we ourselves are impressed with the wisdom of certain Indian points of view; but, although our statements may often therefore coincide with those of Indian spokesmen, it is not our deliberate intent that they should do so.

The reader should also appreciate that we have tried to be as comprehensive as possible in our list. No single Chippewa person would exhibit all of these traits and each individual will display his own complex personality as a result of the forces working upon him.

We have gone so far as to suggest how certain modern characteristics may be modifications of traditional Chippewa traits. In some cases, the ancient traditional behavior has been adapted to today's needs, in others it may have almost disappeared, and in still others it may still exist but not be applicable to modern life and thereby create conflict and frustration.

Following a descriptive list of traits, we present several brief hypothetical cases as they might occur in relation to school. We invite the interested teacher to study these examples and to speculate with us as to the probable operation of particular motives and habits in each case.

EMPHASIS ON INDIVIDUALITY

Historically, the Chippewa person was self-reliant in the sense that he did not interfere in another's affairs nor did he compete with him, except under certain acceptable circumstances. His inner,or emotional life, was considered to be a private and sacred thing. Maintaining dignity was important and was exemplified in most situations by a sort of calm composure and self-control. In being equally considerate of another's feelings, he was careful not to insult, not to refuse a favor outright, and to respect privacy. For example, most Chippewa people were seldom addressed directly by name, and usually had a second, personally adopted, secret name which was known only to those extremely close to him and was almost never spoken aloud.

Acceptable release of these inhibited feelings came through certain religious ceremonies, through dances, warfare, some highly competitive games, and sometimes intoxication (as mentioned in Chapter III.) Unacceptable releases (crimes) were considered to be directed against a particular person or agency, not against Indian society as a whole; therefore, no one authority figure was responsible for punishment. Only the agrieved party or someone acting in his behalf could set matters right.

In the modern era, many of these same characteristics survive. Anger is seldom displayed except when drunk. There is a lack of demonstrativeness between people, including husbands and wives. Except in game situations, many young people prefer not to outshine others in their group. Formal organizations are scarce and have difficulty in operation. An Indian does not wish to be accused of being "bossy." There is a demeanor which has been variously described as "withdrawn" or "introverted" or, in children, as "shy and quiet." Yet childhood free play may be just as noisy and spontaneous as with any children.

Economically, the Indian model of self-sufficiency has been shattered by destruction of his traditional economy as he lost his lands to non-Indians. Then came various forms of public assistance which encourage dependency, thus leading to an obvious conflict situation.

Even the unusual frequency of nicknames acquired as children but used throughout life may reflect vestiges of the ancient culture.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

The emphasis on individuality clearly influenced social relationships. Children traditionally were raised in a permissive atmosphere with little overt affection shown after infancy in order that they might develop self-reliance. The most common forms of punishment were disapproving or "dirty" looks and scolding, with occasional threats of intervention by an outside force such as a particular bogeyman or frightening animal.

Families, or extended kinship groups, were recognized as important but many activities were undertaken with a reference group of similar age and sex. During such activities one might accept the leadership of another person voluntarily but it was not a binding commitment. Allegience was personal and tenuous and existed only so long as both parties wanted it to exist.

There was a traditional distinction between men's and women's work but, although it was a patriarchal society, women were respected (contrary to some misconceptions.) Although an individual's deep emotional ties encompassed only a few people, age and wisdom were admired and a child's closest ties might be to a grandparent. A pleasant and genial manner toward others was common but effusiveness was not. One was expected to be cooperative and to help out those in need but in a way that respected their individuality.

In the modern era, the genial manner persists among Chippewa. A pleasant, ready smile and good sense of humor are common. The humor usually grows out of real-life situations rather than a contrived joke which has been read or heard and is being passed along. Teasing and bantering, sometimes mild and sometimes rather pointed, are characteristic. In children, this may display itself as bullying and tormenting of younger children. (The typical adult reaction, incidentally, is to caution the smaller child to stay out of the way or not to provoke the bully.)

Children are neither systematically excluded nor necessarily included in adult activities. Their firsthand experiences *may* include exposure to almost everything in the adult world. There is little hostility or gap between age groups *per se*, and children are frequently found assisting in simple family chores such as baby-sitting, carrying water, gathering firewood, etc. (With the construction of new homes and water-sewer systems in various places on Minnesota reservations, some of these chores are disappearing.)

There is still considerable affinity for the extended family, sometimes leading to factionalism along family lines. Although direct affection is not often shown, adults are generous with their children in matters like buying treats or toys.

Parents are still quite permissive in child-rearing but nowadays the threat of punishment from police or school authorities may substitute for the old-time bogeyman. However, we cannot speak from much experience about the intimate moments in modern Chippewa family life. One author, Boggs, who lived with several families reports that praise is seldom used as a reward for children, but that it has great impact when employed. Young children seem to react immediately and eagerly to suggestions from parents when that rare event occurs but soon learn, as they mature, to make their own decisions independently. He also records that Chippewa fathers are relatively uncommunicative with their children except in tasks done together (and modern life has fewer and fewer of these.) Mothers, likewise, may answer their daughters' questions about life problems as best they can but seldom initiate this kind of home-instruction, nor do they go beyond the questions asked (for example, on sexual relations.)[8]

In cases of unwed mothers the children are often accepted into the family by the maternal grandparents but sometimes the mother will maintain a separate home, if she is of adult years.

Although most Indians don't like to work alone, or be alone, there appears to be little conversation among them about their deeper emotions. Perhaps it is true for all people that really close friendships must be elaborately developed over a long period of time. Many people, of course, never reach that stage with another human being. We have a feeling that this may be even more true for Indians though perhaps our perception is faulty here.

An individual Indian usually sees the same group of people for most of his different types of activities. This is in contrast to the middle-class white who may be involved with almost completely different sets of friends in his religious, recreational, economic, professional, and social lives. The Indian's total range of acquaintances and the different roles he must play are smaller in number. This also suggests that he inevitably learns that he can't "put on a front" or be a "phony" without quickly being found out. His acquaintances see him in enough different kinds of situations to be thoroughly aware of his strengths and weaknesses. He is unlikely to have a secret vice!

ASPIRATIONS AND MODELS OF BEHAVIOR

In the old days, much attention had to be paid to the immediate environment around the Chippewa and the practical problems which it presented. The successful person was the one who developed a highly concrete type of intelligence and who gave meticulous attention to the details of his environment. The family's very existence depended upon carefully made tools, weapons, housing and clothing as well as upon knowledge of climate, animal habits, vegetation, sources of food, travel routes, sharpness of perception and detailed memory.

Whether or not miscalculations were made, life often required the Indian to endure suffering and hardship, so physical courage and bravery were much admired.

A high standard of excellence was required and observed. If a person couldn't do a thing well, he was expected to refrain until additional maturity or related experiences or observation or secret practice gave him the skill. Some skills a child might learn through certain games. Even a highly skilled person often apologized for the "low" quality of his effort to show his awareness of the expected standards. In the face of extreme difficulty it was acceptable to find some way to avoid the problem rather than to expend wasted effort leading only to poor performance or inevitable failure.

No particular virtue was attached to hard work for its own sake. Instead, work was expected to yield an important and tangible result and was aimed at a specific goal. However, acquisition of material goods had little merit beyond the basic necessities. The nomadic life and the vagaries of nature dictated that generosity rather than thrift was prized. For the same reason, it was foolish to rush, to hurry things, or to carefully schedule activities except by the seasons of the year. People ate when hungry, slept when tired, and, one supposes, laughed when amused rather than waiting for socially prescribed circumstances.

It seems to us that many of these attitudes, perhaps even all of them, have survived and resisted the acculturation process in varying degrees. The modern Chippewa, in a sense, is still struggling for survival especially if he is poverty-stricken. He still needs to cope mostly with concrete, practical things. He still resists displaying an inexpert performance. He will work hard, but usually for a specific purpose and for rewards that are quite immediate. He does not feel bound to follow an arbitrary schedule.

Modern life has affected his desire for some of the gadgets he sees around him but he still places less importance upon them than is true of most of his fellow Americans.

Many of these traits have obvious ramifications for the educational process and even the neophyte teacher will perceive their importance. One reason for their relative persistence may be the manner in which they duplicate so many of the attitudes inherent in the characteristics of disadvantaged children as described in Chapter II. Traditional ideas of survival which are reinforced by experiences with modern poverty should be expected to have impressive strength.

On the other hand, most of these attitudes are so clearly in contrast with those which govern the typical American school that a mutually frustrating experience for Indians and school personnel is a predictable certainty.

MYSTICISM; SYSTEMS OF BELIEFS

The traditional Midewiwin religion with its supreme God (Manitou) is almost a thing of the past. Mide' services are seldom held anymore and there is apparently no concentrated effort to instruct young people or to prepare replacements for the few remaining Mide' priests.

So far as we know, the ancient practice of sorcery is also practically extinct in Minnesota Chippewa groups. There is still a certain fear of spirits or ghosts, and other local superstitions but whether it is any greater than among the rest of the population is difficult to determine.

One small Minnesota Chippewa community is involved with the Native American Church, sometimes called the Peyote Religion because of the central role played by that drug. Otherwise, the huge majority of Indians have professed belief in some form of Christianity and display varying degrees of church allegience.

Traditionally, there was a feeling of having little control over natural forces except sometimes through the intervention of specific spirits or mystical events. It may be that a certain fatalistic attitude present in many Chippewa today is related.

There is also a generalized sensitivity to the concept of "Indian" which burns more strongly than many non-Indians may realize. The resentment over loss of traditional rights, land holdings and ways of life is often close to the surface. Most Indians are not activists, in the modern Civil Rights sense, but they still feel the sting when seeing or hearing jests at the Indians' expense. "Hoked-up" displays of their traditions or indiscriminate use of words from their native language for commercial purposes are only slightly less painful than distorted movies, T. V. programs or textbooks. Nonetheless, the modern Indian can wryly strike back; with "Custer Died for Your Sins" bumper stickers, for example.

We cannot agree with the author who said ". . . the white man destroyed Indian culture and failed to supply a substitute. As a result, the Indian moves in a cultural vacuum like a lost soul, condemned to wander forever in a meaningless void, at odds with the universe."[9] We have tried to suggest that the Indian culture has not been completely destroyed though, in many cases, Indians may have picked up unfortunate substitutes for aspects which were lost.

There can be no cultural vacuum; but there may be a disorganized culture. In this sense, present-day Chippewa life probably has no clean-cut, coherent complex of values, status systems or social norms. The old system is partially gone and the modern one seems to be more a collection of bits and pieces of the old plus some versions of items from the dominant society. All societies seem to have internal contradictions and American society seems to have more than most.

Though we do not share the extent of Father Dunne's pessimism, as quoted above, about the Indian's future, we recognize that it may be a long time before an organized set of functional values for Indian people is forged and accepted. Meanwhile, there are many problems that demand immediate attention.

Some of these problems can be more vividly seen by means of case studies. The cases which follow are hypothetical and are included to provoke thought and discussion among teachers. Many of the things mentioned are taken from real life but rearranged and organized with fictional names and settings. So far as we know, no single individual, living or dead, could be said to be accurately described here. Certainly it is not our intent to imply anything but respect and concern for the situations described.

Since we have deliberately tried to drop clues along the way as we present these four cases, we suggest that the reader should read each case quickly, consider the questions at the end, and then re-read with greater care. However, we do not suggest that we have provided, or even hinted at, answers to many of the questions posed.

CASE NO. 1–ADOLESCENT WITHDRAWAL

Kermit is a fourteen year old boy, the oldest of eight children who live on a nearby reservation with their parents. Kermit's father works when work is locally available, otherwise the family's income is primarily from the county welfare department. Currently Kermit's mother is employed by the reservation's Community Action Program.

In appearance, Kermit is of average size with noticeable Indian physical characteristics. He is in the seventh grade, having repeated first grade once but progressed on schedule since then. In elementary school he received average marks of "C" and "B" and was known as a friendly, energetic boy, helpful to the teacher, and generally admired for his athletic ability. His I.Q. scores show a considerable variation but his academic aptitude test scores generally rank him at about the 25th percentile.

He rides the school bus about sixty miles each day, mostly in the company of other pupils from the reservation. His closest friend is a cousin who is in the sixth grade.

Immediately after starting junior high school last fall, Kermit seemed to be getting along well. He turned in most of his assignments, though often incomplete and with many errors; and he responded when called upon in class, but was otherwise quiet. Kermit's daily work in his academic classes was generally graded with "D's" and he was getting "D's" and "F's" on most tests, but his teachers felt that he was making progress and would probably become a "C" student before the end of the year.

After about two months, a change became evident in Kermit's behavior. He began to seem withdrawn, even sullen, in the classroom. In physical education, he continued to be lively except when under the direct personal observation of the teacher. His school attendance became sporadic until he was missing one or two days each week. This, and his changed attitudes, reduced his completed school assignments to a trickle, then they stopped altogether.

As basketball season approached, the coach asked Kermit to "come out for practice" and Kermit agreed–but never showed up. When asked about the reasons on two occasions, he gave vague excuses, looking away as he spoke, so the coach didn't pursue the matter. Shortly after that, the boy was caught smoking behind the building after lunch and was automatically expelled from school for one week. The following week he did not return with a parent to ask for readmission, as school regulations dictate, and it was necessary for a school official to visit the home before he came back.

During this "home conference" Kermit's mother promised to insist on better attendance from her boy but the old pattern was soon reestablished and "missing the bus" was again a common excuse for absenteeism. (Kermit joined his father in an adjoining room during the conference though most of the younger children were present.)

By mid-year Kermit was failing in all his academic subjects, spending much of his class time daydreaming or sleeping. At the end of the year he received the automatic promotion which is school policy in the seventh grade, but was ill-prepared for eighth grade work, where promotion is not automatic.

How would you analyze Kermit's situation? Which of the characteristics of disadvantaged children (Chapter II) and which of the Chippewa characteristics (Chapter IV) are illustrated in this case?

Speculate about some of the following questions. Why were Kermit's I.Q. scores unreliable? Why did his school behavior change after entering secondary school? Did he experience things outside of school which may have been significant? In school? At home? On the school bus? Can you think of things which might have taken place?

To what extent does the usual adolescent "awareness of self" play a part? What image do you suppose Kermit now has of himself? Does the fact that he is an Indian affect this self-image? Why did he agree to play basketball but never show up? Why didn't he look directly at the coach during this conversation? Why didn't Kermit's parents come to the school after his suspension? Why didn't the boy and his father even come into the room when the school representative visited?

Is there anything here that the school might have handled differently or was the school just a victim of circumstances? What is your prediction for Kermit? Is there any chance at all that he may change again and become a happy, cooperative pupil? What could the school do to encourage this? If it doesn't happen, will Kermit continue sporadic attendance until able to drop out? If he drops out, what will probably become of him?

CASE NO. 2–CULTURE CONFLICT

The Pike family has been a large one for many generations. Various offspring and marriages have scattered its population throughout several Minnesota Indian reservations and other rural areas, a few live in Minneapolis, one family has "relocated" in Cleveland and another in California. The greatest number of Pikes remain on the home reservation though there is a good deal of visiting back and forth.

Nancy Pike is a vivacious fifth-grader whose Indian father and white mother live on the outskirts of a small town not far from the home reservation. Her father has been employed in a local lumber yard for five years and is known as a hard worker who never causes any trouble. Once in a great while he misses work following a drinking party but is still as reliable as the other workers, all non-Indian, who respect Mr. Pike and speak highly of him as a cooperative employee though they admit that they "don't really know him." Local merchants willingly extend him credit, knowing that "he always pays when he has the money."

Mrs. Pike spends her time keeping house for Nancy and her three siblings; she doesn't take part in community affairs, other than church, even though she was born in the town where she lives, but she frequently visits back and forth with her nearby non-Indian relatives and also the Pikes on the reservation.

In fact, Nancy's grandfather is her favorite person. He is very old now, but still is pleased to conduct a Mide' funeral ceremony just as he did in the old days. Sometimes he sadly tells Nancy that he wishes her older cousins in the Pike family were as interested in his stories of "the old ways" as she is.

Nancy is brown-haired, well dressed and well groomed and popular with her classmates. She recently became an enthusiastic fan of The Monkees musical group, collects their records and avidly watches their weekly television show. In fact, her mother discovered that when Nancy needed punishment the most effective action was refusal of TV privileges, especially when The Monkees were scheduled.

Last fall several branches of the Pike family traveled to another part of the state to gather wild rice. Nancy's father arranged his vacation time accordingly, took the family along and they all participated. The family cleared $1200 because even though the crop was poor, prices were accordingly high. It was the first year that Nancy was allowed to actually work in the canoe, knocking the ripe kernels into the cloth with her own stick. She worked as hard as her strength and endurance permitted and was praised by her father who teasingly offered her $200 (one-sixth of the income from the efforts of the six in the family old enough to help.) Nancy was pleased but bewildered when asked what she would do with such a sum of money if she had it. She owns every Monkees record that exists and has just about exhausted the possibilities for her stuffed animal collection.

When the family returned, Nancy's school principal spoke gently, but firmly to her about her ten-day absense. She pointed out that the early part of the school year was especially important and stressed the hard work necessary to "catch up." Nancy's teacher, a man, also reasoned with her, explaining that he would like to "skip school to pick up a few bucks" too but that when school was in session, "we all have to obey the rules." He worked out an arrangement to give her extra help after school hours but was caught off-guard when she started to cry, in spite of his friendly offer.

That night Nancy asked her mother if she could have the $200 to give to her teacher. Her surprised mother called her husband into the conversation and they finally suggested that Nancy might take the teacher a gift of some of the rice the family had retained for its own use. As soon as it had been processed, Nancy did take a two-pound plastic bagful to school.

Some older children saw it in her hand, before the schoolday started, grabbed it away and teased Nancy by playing "keep away" with it until the bag broke and much of the rice was scattered on the ground. Crying, Nancy salvaged what she could and improvised a bag from her handkerchief. Some classmates tattled on the bullies to her teacher and he came to comfort her, assuring her "That's all right, Nancy. Don't cry. It doesn't matter that much anyway. A little rice goes a long way, you know. Thank you for bringing it to school."

Later in the day Nancy's teacher gave her a chance to show her wild rice to the other children and to tell about gathering it. They were all much impressed and their questions revealed how little they all knew about ricing, including the teacher. One boy asked Nancy curiously "Are you an Indian, too?" Nancy looked blank and the teacher helped her out by saying that Nancy's father was a Chippewa Indian.

That same night after school the teasing started again, now that the aggressors had discovered Nancy's ready tears, and this time it included taunts about her being an Indian. Nancy's parents complained about this to the school which responded promptly by reprimanding the culprits and warning of dire consequences if the harassment continued. In class, Nancy's teacher made a special point of utilizing his Minnesota history unit to speak of the Chippewa as a well known and respected tribe of "northern" Indians.

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Unfortunately, the school bullies quickly picked this up and dubbed poor Nancy as "Northern Pike." Continued school vigilance, however, and the numbing passage of time, finally minimized the problem and it gradually disappeared. The final coup was applied when Nancy herself, at the suggestion of grandfather Pike, in whom she confided, told her principal tormenter that he'd better keep his hair cut short or her "cousins" would scalp him!

How do you feel about the actions of the school people in this case? Would any of our suggestions to teachers (Chapter VI) have been appropriate here? To what extent are characteristics of disadvantaged children and Chippewa characteristics revealed in Nancy's case? Are her parents "caught between two worlds?" What kind of problems do you imagine this family has faced in the past?

What evidence is there that Nancy is a "typical" fifth grade girl? What evidence is there that she is not? Nearly all children are sometimes involved in teasing. In spite of the unfortunate overtones of prejudice here, is this case particularly different? Do you suppose that Nancy will have any further troubles of this sort? What internal conflicts do you perceive that Nancy might have?

CASE NO. 3 - ALIENATION

"Keno" Lautrec is a seventeen year old high-school drop-out. His parents' home is on the reservation to which his ancestors moved when it was created by treaty in the mid-1800's. He is the youngest of four children: an older sister who has married lives nearby, and two older brothers who share a bachelor home live about a mile away. None in the family has completed 10th grade.

If the Lautrec name reveals a European ancestor, it was many generations ago and Keno's immediate parents are both considered Indian. Keno himself is a tall, handsome boy with jet-black hair, coppery smooth skin and prominent cheekbones. Although he has never "taken a girl on a date" in the sense of getting dressed up and escorting a girl friend to some specific recreation (dance, movie, etc.) he has an "easy" casual manner which has gained him the reputation of being "successful" with girls and accepted by boys his own age. He is generally believed to have fathered the child of a sixteen year old girl from his village.

Keno's elementary school record reveals little that is extraordinary but it is clear that he had nothing but trouble in secondary school. His junior high school teachers report that they thought him to be very intelligent but found themselves unable to "reach him." He seemed to remain aloof from everyone in school (with the partial exception of one older Indian boy), never contributed in class, never completed homework assignments, and was frequently absent.

Mr. and Mrs. Lautrec have many problems. Both are known as heavy drinkers. Although there have been some opportunities for steady employment, especially in recent years, neither parent has responded. Mr. Lautrec did file an application for appointment as a laborer on an Indian housing project, primarily at the urging of county welfare officials, but was passed over by the hiring committee. Life-long residents of the village, they have no really close friends and spend most of their days just sitting around their one-room house. Their primary income, over the years, has been from various forms of public assistance.

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When Keno was five years old, he and his brothers and sister were placed in a foster home for almost a year. During that time, both older boys continually ran away and went back to their parents until finally the welfare department relented and sent them all home.

Nominally, Keno lives at home, but, in truth, he is seldom there. He often sleeps at his brothers' house or someplace else around the village. Through his older brothers, he is often able to obtain beer and seems to pay off his social debts of sleeping and eating at others' homes by supplying beer—especially to other teenagers. His parents give him money when he asks for it, knowing that it will be spent for beer, but still severely criticize him for "drinking too young."

When he was fifteen and in ninth grade, Keno was suspended. He had been in various kinds of trouble at school before, mostly for not obeying school regulations. For example, sometimes he would be 5 to 10 minutes late for class after the lunch hours. Another time he was exposed as having bullied a group of younger students into not doing their homework. When confronted with such accusations, he responded stoically and would neither admit nor deny his guilt. Perhaps his most serious offense took place when he was only fourteen. The first Negro family to move to the region had a boy two years older than Keno. Keno's characteristic aloofness disappeared in this case and he began to taunt the Negro student in the most base and vicious manner. The older boy concealed his angry reaction for several days and endured Keno's insults. Keno, although younger and smaller, kept challenging the Negro to fight. Finally, after great provocation, the challenge was accepted during a noon hour on the playground and a grim and bloody fist fight ensued. Although Keno fought fanatically, he was clearly outclassed and by the time school officials heard of the affair and arrived at the scene he was nearly unconscious.

Both boys were suspended but allowed to return a week later. Keno did not resume the teasing but treated his adversary with the same detachment as he adopted toward the other pupils. A year later, Keno was sent home from school for disobeying the "dress code" by neglecting to wear a belt on his trousers. This time he refused to return.

Since he was only fifteen, the school made several efforts to bring him back. At the time his mother was in a state hospital being treated for habitual drunkenness and his father couldn't seem to locate the boy, even when threatened with jail. Twice the local deputy sheriff found Keno at different homes in the village and physically forced him into a car and drove him to the school. Although outwardly cool and composed, Keno seized the first opportunity to leave the school building each time and hitchhiked home. With his sixteenth birthday only a month away, the school finally conveniently "forgot" him and he's had no further contact with school authorities.

Soon after that, Keno was arrested and convicted with three other boys who had broken into a local tavern and stolen beer and cigarettes. They considered the tavern owner a friend and claimed to have deliberately left the cash register alone because they "didn't want to rob him." Expressing surprise that the owner had preferred charges ("set the law on us") they pleaded guilty as charged. Keno spent the next ten months in the Red Wing reformatory.

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Upon his release, he went to Minneapolis where one brother had moved in the meantime. Finding the brother well on the way to becoming a skid-row bum, he returned to the reservation saying that he "didn't want to live like a pig." Since that time he has lived as described before (and the older brother has also returned.)

How do you feel about Keno's case? Which characteristics mentioned in Chapters II and IV are evident here? Was there a point in Keno's life where he might have been salvaged? What kind of effort would it have required and by whom? Or was Keno doomed to quit school from the beginning?

What evidence is there that his problem situation was recognized early? Is there an indication that the Indian community did not approve of Keno's home life? If so, why wouldn't they take action to do something about it? What significance does his fight with the Negro boy have? How can you explain the attitude of the boys who robbed the tavern?

If you were given unlimited resources and directed to "help" Keno now, what kinds of professional personnel would you need on your "team?" What kinds of non-professional personnel might be able to assist you? Given all that aid, what prediction of success would you be willing to make?

CASE NO. 4 - SUCCESS

This is the story of two quite different girls. Both of them are Indian girls in the twelfth grade of a medium-sized high school and both will probably graduate. They are good friends.

Judy is a tall, slender girl, vivacious and popular. She was the illegitimate child of a seventeen year old girl who died of leukemia when Judy was only two. She was raised in her grandparents' home until she was eight years old. This was not a good home situation. Although there were older children present (brothers and sisters of Judy's mother) none was within five years of her age. She frequently experienced lack of sleep, poor diet, and general neglect.

Her grandfather was a moody person, subject to long periods of depression and occasional drunken violence. Her grandmother was a quiet, withdrawn person of limited abilities who had considerable trouble in her own household and seemed incapable of even managing her own children. They lived alone on the outskirts of an Indian village, were not held in very high esteem by their own neighbors, and kept aloof from all community and tribal affairs. The grandfather had a bad reputation among nearby non-Indians dating back to the days when he acted as a contact person with bootleggers who supplied illegal alcohol to various Indians. He was a powerfully built person, known to be dishonest, and would bluster and threaten anyone who happened to "cross" him. He claimed to be descendent from a famous sachem and to be able to cast spells and otherwise use sorcery to gain revenge on his enemies.

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Judy's aunt, twelve years older, had run away from this home situation when she was ten years old and had lived with another family

in a distant part of the same reservation. She had finished high school with a better than average record and had married at 18. Although her husband had not finished school, he was young, strong and ambitious and provided a reasonably steady income for his family by various kinds of woods work. Judy loved and admired her aunt and uncle and when her grandfather was killed in a car accident, and the court determined that her grandmother was incapable of caring for her, she willingly went to live with the aunt.

For the first time in her young life, eight year old Judy began to experience happiness. When she came into her new home she was considered to be at the level of psychological development of a kindergartener. She could read only a few words, spoke haltingly, even with other children, and was physically awkward and unhealthy. (She had already repeated first grade and was now nearly at the end of the year in second.)

Her aunt conferred with school officials who said that even though Judy's test scores showed her to be severely educationally retarded they saw no point in holding her back another year. During her third grade year, Judy made little progress in academic skills but her health improved and she began to find enjoyment in being with the other children. The next year her fourth grade teacher took a very special interest in her and was able to develop a warm relationship. Judy's work improved notably but she was still reading two years below normal and seemed to have difficulty in most other school tasks. During the next two years, she continued to gain ground and by the end of her elementary school she was achieving at near normal levels. She had also acquired a close friend in Alma.

Alma's background was not at all like Judy's. Her family had been one of those providing leadership on the reservation for years. Her father was widely respected and had been chairman of the Reservation Business Committee for several terms of office. Although he had some critics who felt he was not aggressive enough in promoting the welfare of the reserve, his private and family life was never criticized. When we asked local citizens to identify the village family they most admired, Alma's was the one mentioned most often.

However, Alma had a few problems of her own. She was not especially attractive and brooded quite a bit about this as she grew older. She was short and overweight and had acquired the unhappy nickname of "Chub." Her school ability seemed to be average but she had a sister just eleven months younger who outshone her. The community didn't have a kindergarten in those days and, because of the family's having moved off the reservation for a brief period and then back again, the two sisters ended up in the same grade. The younger of the two, bright and pretty, attracted all the attention, even at home, and "Chub" was largely ignored. She seemed quite shy, but was serious-minded and diligent. The attitude of most people was that "she did as well as could be expected" and they let it go at that.

The fourth grade teacher, mentioned above, also took an interest in Alma. Although Alma's father had recently been elected to the school board, the teacher nevertheless took it upon herself to inquire into the family background. Neither drinking nor physical neglect were particular problems there but the teacher became aware of a certain amount of emotional neglect. She spoke frankly to Alma's parents about this who were quick to see it and to understand that the little girl deserved more of their attention.

ticular problems were but the teacher became aware of a certain
amount of emotional neglect. She spoke frankly to Alma's parents about this who were quick to see it and to understand that the little

At about this time, Alma's mother was employed at the local store for the summer and worked out an arrangement for Alma to take over the major responsibility for baby-sitting with a three year old brother. She made a point of praising Alma for the good job she did and of inviting her to help in household tasks which the two of them could do together. One notable summer day Alma's father suggested to her "Let's go fishing. . .just you and me." She was astonished but delighted. The two had a great time catching small walleyes and for years after, the father would tell of how the little girl outfished him that lovely day. During the excursion, her father told Alma, for the first time, of his own boyhood life and of how he had fished and roamed the woods. He also stressed that their family had always been highly regarded and how he had tried to live up to that image and hoped Alma would too.

By the end of sixth grade, Alma was still just an average student and was still teased about being fat. . . but she was able to take it in good humor and was obviously a reasonably secure, well-adjusted little girl, though quiet. And she had acquired a close friend—Judy.

In the records which she sent along to their new school, the elementary school principal made a special notation to the effect that Judy and Alma should be kept together, where possible, for their mutual benefit. The high school principal followed this suggestion and asked the counselor to make note of it also.

During seventh grade perhaps the most important person in the lives of these two girls was a young home economics teacher. Although they were the only two Indian girls in that particular class, they immediately felt at home. At the end of the first month, when the class had been discussing good nutrition, Judy talked privately to the teacher to ask what might be done about her friend Chub's weight problem. The teacher listened sympathetically and suggested that if Alma would first have a physical examination, she would then talk to her personally about dieting. The school nurse was brought into the picture, made a doctor's appointment with Alma's consent, and procured the results of the examination for school use. The examining physician indicated that Alma was a strong and healthy girl and, although heavy for her height and build, had no physical problem that would cause obesity.

Judy had encouraged Chub to talk to the home economics teacher and, reluctantly at first, she did. The teacher showed that she was not alarmed herself but that if Alma wished to control her weight, she would discuss the matter. They talked in general terms about avoiding certain foods and resisting between-meal snacks. Alma was grateful but didn't really feel that there was much hope—she'd been fat as long as she could remember. (As a matter of fact, she did control her eating somewhat better and although she never really slimmed down, neither did she gain much as she grew taller. Today she is still shorter and heavier than average, but well within "normal" limits.)

Other things happened as a result of that teacher. In class, she got Judy, and even Alma, to mention some "Indian" foods. They didn't know much about the "old-time" foods but were encouraged to find out through reading in the library and asking people on the reservation. Their report to the class, made together, was a huge success, to judge by the enthusiastic interest shown by the other girls.

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Judy's aunt became pregnant about this time (at the age of 26). The home economics teacher had just become acquainted with the family at an open house night at school and had followed up with a home visit. Judy had just completed a sewing project in school, which turned the conversation to clothing construction, and the teacher was able to give the aunt a few greatly appreciated tips about making some new, nice-looking, maternity clothes. Judy even worked on a few of them at school.

That summer the teacher was married and moved away from the area. She invited Judy and Alma and several other girls, who had been especially helpful in the hot lunch program, to the wedding. Although it was held some miles away, Judy's aunt drove the girls there and attended with them. They all cried and had a marvelous time!

By the time the two girls were in ninth grade, it was clear that Judy was far outstripping Alma in schoolwork and in her social life.

She was developing into a sparkling, lovely young lady and began having frequent dates (with both Indian and non-Indian boys, incidentally.) They remained fast friends, however, frequently staying overnight at one another's homes, and sharing the same interests and gossip as all young girls.

Alma was still quiet but pleasant and well liked by teachers and students. Her counselor was beginning to talk with her about career plans after graduation and she and her mother spent long hours discussing the possibilities. The same counselor had talked to Judy, encouraging her to think about higher education, but she didn't seem to take it too seriously, frequently laughing it off because of the cost.

In eleventh grade, both girls were greatly affected by a certain school assembly program. It consisted of a chic young woman who talked on Native American arts and crafts. She displayed a number of items, using projectors, and startled the students by appearing for the second half of the "show" in a Chippewa woman's dancing costume. She told of growing up as a Chippewa girl on a Wisconsin reservation and of going from there to art school. The school had arranged for her to visit the local reservation while in the locale and had worked with ladies of the Indian village to serve refreshments and have an informal reception in the community building in the early evening after school.

Many of the young people, including Alma and Judy, were there when she was asked to speak. She did so, briefly but movingly, urging the young people present to be a credit to their own people. She described her love for Indian art and the importance of its preservation and ended by suggesting that the students who were present had an obligation to themselves and their ancestors to acquire education and skills which would provide satisfying lives for themselves and their families.

The next week the two inspired girls went to talk with the counselor again, this time together. Judy, in particular, was greatly excited by a "sudden" revelation of a goal in life. Alma, in her typical quiet but determined way, also avowed that she was "going to do something." After a series of conferences extending over a year, plans are now well underway for Judy to receive a B.I.A. scholarship to attend the state university (much to the distress of her current boyfriend) where she thinks she may attend the school of social work. Alma will probably be admitted to Haskell Institute and would like to prepare for secretarial work.

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Judy maintains that she will eventually return to the reservation to work to "help other people get a break in life." Alma doesn't know where she might want to live but has been assured by her father that she can be a credit to her family wherever she lives. "Just don't forget us," he says teasingly, which always brings tears brimming to Alma's eyes. . .and then they both laugh warmly. Hardly anybody calls her Chub anymore. . .except Judy, teasing when they are alone.

What prediction would you make about the future life of these two girls? What kinds of problems may they still encounter? Are they equipped to meet those problems?

Who helped Judy and Alma the most? The fourth grade teacher, Judy's aunt and uncle, Alma's parents, their home economics teacher, the respective principals, the counselor, or was it the young Chippewa lady who lectured?

Did either or both of these girls come from a "disadvantaged" environment as we've defined it? Would you consider the girls themselves as disadvantaged? Are any Chippewa characteristics evident in any of the Indian people mentioned in the case? Have the two girls committed themselves to giving up their Indianness?

V

Attitudes Concerning Education

Attitudes about education obviously affect the learning process both directly and indirectly. The three generalized categories of people who are most critically involved in formal education are also obvious; they are parents, pupils and teachers.

During the past year we attempted to investigate the attitudes of Indian parents, their high school enrolled children, and the teachers of those children. The Nett Lake reservation population as a whole was selected as the sample and questionnaires and instructions were distributed to all of the Nett Lake pupils at the Orr High School, to all of their high school teachers, to all of the elementary school teachers serving Nett Lake, and to every household which had currently or previously enrolled children in public school. Returns were received and tabulated from 87% of the parents, 83% of the pupils, and 73% of the elementary and secondary teachers. Similar questionnaires were also distributed to Indian parents and students from the Fond du Lac and Grand Portage reservations and to the schools which serve them. Their responses were remarkably similar to those of the Nett Lake area and thereby strengthen our feeling that the responses were reliable.

This information which follows constitutes a general summary of the most notable findings of that survey. More complete detail is available in Virgil Wurr's unpublished Master's degree paper (University of Minnesota, Duluth, 1967).

ATTITUDES OF INDIAN PARENTS

Indian parents place a very high value, at least verbally, on formal education. They believe that it is the surest means by which their children can improve their life situations, that pupils should at least finish high school if they wish to get good jobs (either on or off the reservation), and they often express the wish that they had managed to get more formal education themselves. These adults hope that the current generation will get more education than their parents did even though they sometimes indicate a lack of effective communication with their offspring which handicaps them if their children do drop out of school.

Of great interest to teachers is the fact that the Indian parents surveyed generally agreed that they would like to see their children continue traditional Indian customs and attitudes but did not see formal education as threatening in this respect. In fact, they indicated that a well educated Indian was more apt to be proud of his Indianness. At the same time, they clearly displayed a feeling that education was not particularly essential in finding happiness and lasting friendships or leading a good life; their educational goals are largely vocational and they seem to wish that children would show more interest in attending trade schools.

On the matter of school attendance, these parents are somewhat ambivalent. They understand its basic importance but may not place as high a priority on compulsory daily attendance as school people might like. To them, some things might be more important on a given school day. They are also somewhat ambivalent in their perception of other's reactions to extensive education. While they see it as desirable, they are sometimes fearful of being accused of "showing off" if they were to come back to the reservation to help others after getting their educational training.

Indian parents seemed to us to be quite reluctant to criticize teachers and schools, except in certain cases of very specific incidents. There is a positive correlation, however, between the amount of formal education a parent has and the amount of criticism he expresses. In general, they state their feelings that the schools are sincerely trying to do a good job, that the teachers like Indian children as well as any others, and are usually satisfied with what the children are learning in school. They may be influenced by the gradual improvement over recent years which is evident in the schools' service to Indians, even though most Indian secondary school pupils still perform well below their ability and frequently do not complete school.

The general level of aspiration of Indian people in this state has been rising, it seems to us, and this is found both on and off the reservation. Those parents now living on Indian land generally state their feelings that their aspirations can be reached on the reservation, just as well as away from it. Only a very few were in favor of abolishing reservations; but somewhat less than half felt that Indians on the reservation are happy and less than half said they would like their children to grow up and live there in the future.

INDIAN STUDENT ATTITUDES

Our formal survey of Indian student attitudes concentrated upon those enrolled in grades 7-12. This was partly due to our belief that the true feelings of the younger pupils could only have been ascertained through the use of techniques beyond the limits of our time and resources. In larger measure, however, we were influenced by our preliminary study which had shown that Indian pupils seemed to progress through elementary school with about the same achievement, acquisition of learning skills, and teacher assessments as did non-Indian children.

In secondary school the Indian pupil typically begins to show evidence of scholastic and personal problems. We felt that it would be valuable to get some idea of the pupil's perceptions and rationalizations connected with his educational experiences.

There is empirical evidence that many Indian pupils exert little personal effort in studying, doing assignments, etc. Under questioning, they frequently expressed attitudes such as "There's not much point in trying hard. . .It's a waste of time. . .I haven't much desire (to succeed in school). . .there are more important things to do" or confessed that they often felt too tired to study at home or that they watched T.V. to the point where it interfered with studying. Many Indian pupils have no convenient place to study that affords privacy, quiet conditions, and adequate lighting. Quite a few, especially junior high school students, reported pressure from older pupils or from peers which was directed against school achievement.

When they spoke of their future, they expressed feelings of futility. They felt that they'd probably never use what they learn in school anyway and they saw little practical value in their school experiences. Less than 20% felt they would probably have a steady job when they become adults. Yet, more than one-third aspired to attend college and a great majority said they want to finish high school and will expect their own children to do the same.

Although their attendance is often erratic, they stated that they could be at school almost every day if they wanted to. In other words, it is up to them and they realize it. Some stated explicitly that their parents aren't much concerned about this. Many also complained about a long school bus ride.

There were divergent student perceptions of the attitudes of teachers. The majority had a good opinion of their teachers but a number of Indian pupils responded that they are treated unfairly by teachers and sometimes related, in private, examples of such behavior which they interpreted as discriminatory. Whether this is a convenient rationalization or is really true is difficult to determine without exhaustive investigation of each such incident. Our own impression is that a few teachers do have some hostile feelings which could be reflected in unjust treatment of Indian pupils; but we shall speak of those attitudes in the next section. The important point here is that the pupils are sensitive to this possibility and sometimes place an unfavorable interpretation on a teacher's actions which, naturally, interferes with the learning process. Some of them suggested that it would be helpful to have more Indian teachers in their school.

In the schools we studied, the social relationships between Indian and non-Indian students seemed somewhat limited by practical considerations but not restricted much by barriers of prejudice. Almost all our respondents felt proud of being Indians but reported that they had sometimes been teased about this by non-Indian classmates. Most of them had non-Indian friends with whom they socialized in a variety of ways. Extra-class activity participation was slight, however, with the long bus ride home after school being frequently blamed. Other possible causes are the lack of required skills, absence of specific enough invitation to participate, and, in certain instances, lack of money. The Indian pupils, when given free choice, appeared to feel most comfortable when they could sit together in class (usually near the back of the room), eat together in the cafeteria, and "chum around" together in the hallways.

The same sort of social behavior has been observed for groups of non-Indian classmates who have been life-long acquaintances and live in a satellite community from which they are bussed to high school. The fact that Indianness adds to the common bond simply reinforces this tendency toward self-segregation and makes it more obvious to the casual observer. The extent to which such behavior should be encouraged or discouraged depends upon the particular school situation. In general, our belief is that such close associations should be permitted to the extent that they give a feeling of familiarity and security to pupils (especially younger ones) but that steps should also be taken to broaden the scope of pupil's social relationships (especially in non-threatening situations) through meaningful experiences devoid of pressure.

Overall, it appeared that the Indian students in these particular secondary schools had very few successful and satisfying learning experiences. This, coupled with the usual adolescent uncertainties, led to rather negative self-concepts and rather negative attitudes about particular facets of their school. As we have suggested earlier, the Indian's own biases may also lead him to distrust the school and its personnel.

ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS OF INDIAN PUPILS

Teachers, quite naturally, react negatively to pupils who exhibit attitudes and behaviors which threaten the values of the dominant society. Those whom we questioned singled out the Indian pupils' major problems of lack of motivation, resistance to school learning, poor attendance, little parent interest, lack of deep concern and initiative, pupil shyness and classes which were too large.

Their own middle-class orientation was evident in their expressions of sincere concern for the Indian's problems but it also dictated their feelings that Indian pupils should be treated, taught, and graded on the same basis as all others. Most of them believed that Indian pupils could succeed merely by making the decision to do so and then keeping at the tasks.

The high school teachers, in particular, expressed considerable dissatisfaction about their work with Indian students. They were critical of their school's lack of success in this effort, felt that working with Indians could be rewarding, but had little to suggest of a specific nature other than getting the pupils to attend more regularly and to do their assigned school tasks.

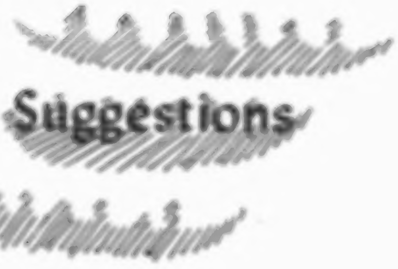
A surprising number exhibited misinformation about the Indian's legal position, civil rights, and current status. A few expressed the view that destruction of the reservation system, while brutal, was "the only real answer." This kind of attitude merges with others of an even more hostile nature in a few teachers.

Fortunately, the great majority of teachers we have encountered are hard-working professionals, trying their best to cope on a day-to-day basis with problems which are huge in scale. They realize, of course, that they are only able to improve the achievement of any underachieving pupils slowly and that there are many attempts which fail. They willingly admit their feelings of frustration and sincerely ask for suggestions and assistance.

Unfortunately, there are a few whose minds are not so open. Typically, they have quit trying to find new and better ways of working with pupils, have quit looking at pupils as individuals and have taken refuge in stereotyped classifications for their students and parents. To them, the exception proves the rule instead of raising doubts about the rule itself. Finally, of course, such attitudes often become rigid biases which stand in the way of understanding.

To summarize, our investigation exposed the existence of occasional cases of biases pupils and parents coming into contact with equally but oppositely biases teachers. Such a situation reinforces the negative feelings that one has toward the other (and possibly toward himself) and creates a condition which neither can tolerate. However, we have concluded that the great majority of Indian parents and teachers are in agreement about the importance of education and about most of the circumstances which stand in the way of improved academic achievement by Indian pupils. There is considerable ground for optimism, therefore, in believing that improved communication and cross-cultural understanding can effect improvements in Indian education.

VI



Suggestions

All people who are involved in the process of formal education realize that there are no simple solutions to the kinds of problems described in this booklet. It is not possible, unfortunately, for us to predict which particular changes will assist a given school in working with a given group of Indian pupils. School personnel who are imaginative and concerned will continue to be the most necessary ingredient for educational improvement, of course.

There is considerable cause for optimism. Although progress seems painfully slow, state records indicate marked gains in the number of Indian pupils remaining in school, improving their attendance, graduating from high school, and attending college. Most of these gains appear to have taken place in the past 10-15 years and there is no reason to suspect that they will not continue since there is still such great room for improvement.

There are also increasing numbers of isolated cases of Indian children achieving both academic and non-academic success. An occasional honor-roll student, a star athlete, a homecoming queen, an elected representative in student government, all combine to give hope for future achievements. Finally, the relatively successful performance of many Indian people in jobs and community betterment which can be seen in reservation Community Action Programs (CAP) across the state should help to dispell some of the misconceptions about Indians' ability and work habits. It is becoming evident that many Minnesota Indians can devise projects for their own benefit, organize them, and make them work. In the coming years, such programs should continue to attract attention and, gradually, to establish means for Indian people to demonstrate how they can improve economically without abandoning their traditional homes and customs.

The suggestions which follow are not intended, therefore, as a blueprint for all schools nor as a list of entirely "new" ideas. They do constitute a compilation of what we consider to be the most promising of ideas which various people have either suggested to us or demonstrated in practice; plus a few of our own ideas. No attempt has been made to limit them to especially concrete, or theoretical, or immediate or long-range approaches. It is our hope that they will serve to stimulate discussion as various school people consider which things they might implement or modify for their own purposes.

"WHAT CAN THE INDIVIDUAL TEACHER DO?"

It seems to us that teaching is such an individualized process, such a creative activity, that the key to any educational improvement lies there. Without imaginative teachers, neither a new curriculum, new materials, nor new teaching techniques are likely to produce major gains. Of course, before teachers can apply their abilities to a specific matter, such as improvement of education for Indian children, they must acquire helpful information and appropriate attitudes. We hope that preceding sections of this booklet may assist in that process.

1. Perhaps the first thing a teacher who is interested in this problem must do is to examine his own attitudes toward the worth and individual dignity of his pupils.

At least one experimental psychologist has shown that the expectations of an experimenter in a laboratory affect the recorded performances of white rats running a maze. If the person running the test (graduate students were used) was told that he was working with a particularly stupid bunch of rats, the scores reported were noticably lower than when he was led to believe he was testing a group of very smart rats. This was true even when the same rats were actually used in both instances! In other words, his bias contaminated the results of his evaluation.

Imagine, then, the influence that a teacher's bias might have on the performance of pupils. If the teacher believes, at some level of consciousness, that certain youngsters are not capable of progressing educationally, he probably conveys that message to the student in some way. If the student happens to already believe that about himself, this reinforcement from the teacher is even more devastating.

As mentioned earlier, there is no virtue in "treating every pupil the same" except insofar as this implies treating all persons with respect. But it must be a respect for that person as an individual. This, in turn, suggests individualized understanding, resulting in treating every pupil differently. Some teachers escape into the convenient complaint that they teach 150 pupils daily. Yet it is not terribly difficult to learn at least one unique thing about each of 150 different people. Our daily lives usually encompass numbers much larger than that.

Perhaps the most defensible negative argument is that the school records do not often provide sufficient personal and family information about pupils to be helpful. Since standardized test scores probably do not accurately reflect the potential of disadvantaged children, teachers should insist that the school include additional information in pupil records; and they should be cooperative in providing their own information, anecdotal reports, etc., for the same purpose.

2. Teachers must also learn to discard a few misconceptions of long standing which many of us have had in education. One of these is that we should reward only speedy performance. Instead, performance that is careful and accurate may also be recognized and encouraged. Another misconception is that pupils whose "faces light up" are the only ones who are learning. Quiet, even impassive, pupils may actually be absorbing just as much. (See Item 6 below.)

3. Most teachers admit that they never learn something so well as when they try to teach it to others; yet they conduct their classroom in a way that affords little opportunity for pupils to teach one another (or to teach the teacher, for that matter.) Individual competition is not always an effective motivating force for Indian students. In order for

individual competition to operate positively, the pupil must have at least a glimmer of hope of "winning" or of coming out on top. In small group activities he may be associated with group success, however, and may also respond to competition within himself, attempting to do well by his own standards. Indian children are often competitive in game situations outside of school, especially where "teams" are involved. It's not so much the idea of competition that is the obstacle, then, as it is the stress on standing alone, of competing as an individual.

For example, some teachers report that Indian pupils who are reluctant to give an individual oral report in front of the class will, instead, share in a group presentation such as a panel discussion. In other cases, the pupil may have come to accept the teacher's role in checking his work but will not be happy with evaluation by his peers; nor be comfortable in criticising a fellow pupil even when invited to do so.

In this connection, every pupil must have some successful experiences; he must build up a reserve of such experiences to sustain him when longer and more diligent effort is required later. Ideally, every pupil should feel that he is succeeding most of the time! But it is amazing how much sustenance even the dullest student can find in the rare word of praise. Sometimes it can be awarded publicly - other times privately.

4. Preschool and primary grade teachers especially should become familiar with some of the techniques which researchers have found to be effective with disadvantaged children. For example, the use of repeated demonstrations, in novel and dramatic forms, have proved far more valuable than verbal corrections of error. This method of "learning-through-observing-models" (imitation) and experimenting with tasks is preferable to explaining with words alone, where problems of resistance to authority often arise.

Learning tasks for young children should involve them in active, physical manipulation of materials and should be set up as play-activity situations, too. A child comes to grips with the dimensions of conceptual structures through experiences requiring discrimination, sorting, and construction; hence the need for physical activity.

Incidentally, there is also considerable evidence that individuals with little formal education may serve very well as "teachers" of this type of child, under supervision of a master teacher. They can come to understand the essential principles of developmental learning and can then follow a written guide, interpret demonstrations by more experienced teachers, and apply their own background in helping disadvantaged pupils to progress. Maybe such teacher aides are worth trying out in some classrooms.

5. In some communities, Indian pupils can successfully be motivated by the inspiration provided by good models. The teacher needs to become acquainted with Indians who are good examples of success both on and off the reservations. Learn who the people are who are most respected by other local Indians and then enlist their help in the school program. They may be willing to come to the school itself on occasion to talk with classes or select groups of pupils. They may be willing to unofficially "counsel" a particular student.

We believe that a deliberate program can be undertaken by teachers in a given school in order to inspire Indian pupils through Indian resource people. There is nothing wrong with out-and-out exhortation to "do well in school" or to "show them what you can do" or to dedicate one's life to some pursuit which will benefit one's "own people." But such an approach carries the most impact when expressed by a person (1) with whom the child can identify and (2) whom he admires greatly.

Remember, however, that we are calling attention to the usefulness of good models who are considered successes by other Indians...in an Indian frame of reference. These may not be the same people that local non-Indians would single out. Ask Indian students and parents for help in identifying them. Then, arrange to make use of them, perhaps starting at around the 5th or 6th grade level in group situations to provide inspiration and, for high school pupils, in individual "godfather" settings.

6. We have already mentioned the frequency of "shyness" or non-speaking behavior of many Indian youngsters, particularly adolescents. In addition to what has already been said on this point, we should like to emphasize the need for a teacher to be alert for subtle cues that such a pupil is ready to respond. When a response is made, even if not entirely satisfactory, the pupil should receive some sort of positive reinforcement.

At times it may be possible to pre-plan the situation in a pupil's favor. Perhaps he can be "tipped off" that a given question or opportunity is coming and can provide himself with an acceptable response beforehand. Perhaps a teacher can discover ways of emphasizing a particular pupil's response; by recalling it publicly at a later time or by displaying it for others to "see" or by using it as a model, for example.

Severe cases of true shyness are rare. When found, they probably call for individual attention by a trained clinician. Even here, however, the imaginative teacher may find gentle ways of recognizing the child's worth and of providing opportunities for the child to find satisfaction without being forced into a public display. Remember that the pupil whose available outlets of expression are very few may have an even greater need for release than the aggressive extrovert.

Some Indian pupils may not yet have developed a particular skill to the point where they are ready to display it, even to the teacher. Although he probably can't verbalize it, this may reflect the traditional Chippewa attitude. The fact that he doesn't perform on cue doesn't necessarily mean that he lacks ability or that he isn't "trying." He may be trying very hard—but not visibly. The teacher, of course, is used to watching children's overt efforts start with bungling, amateurish trial and error, and then to use what she learns from that observation to help them gradually improve. Perhaps, with some children, a teacher must operate in the dark longer than usual until the pupil is ready to reveal what he has learned. In any case, a show of angry impatience will only further postpone the shy pupil's response. Even more subtle negative reactions are quickly perceived by children.

7. Adopt the attitude that some middle-class ways of life can be taught as skills rather than insisting on their acceptance as values. In lower grades this may take the form of games relating to cleanliness, toothbrushing, punctuality and the like. Later on it may become a sort of unspoken agreement that the child will try to practice good gram-

mar, formal politeness, respect for public property, responsibility and dependability in school tasks if the teacher will understand that it is not required that out-of-school behavior be similarly dictated.

The teacher would do well to abandon the puritan ethic that suggests that everyone must subject himself to arbitrary authority and feel great shame and experience public embarrassment if his personal behavior deviates from that of the dominant influences in society. We suspect that any disadvantaged child quickly picks up the silent message from a teacher who is actually dedicated to forcing a change in his whole way of life.

As mentioned earlier, the goal here is to familiarize the Indian pupil with major aspects of the majority culture and to equip him with the skills needed to function there when he wished to do so. We want to help him become multi-faceted, not narrower; to add to his repertoire of responses and improve his perception of appropriate settings for different kinds of behavior. This does not require his commitment to a single way of life as the only "right" way for him.

Middle-class pupils learn early in life to behave differently in church than in the back yard; differently with other children than with adults; differently when under close supervision than when on their own. Many Indian children don't understand this type of possibility. They are more apt to behave in the same "natural" way in any setting; to do otherwise would be false or showing off, as they see it.

Both the pupil and teacher may be able to compromise their habittual attitudes on this point, and to their mutual benefit. If the teacher can think "If he will do it that way most of the time, I won't insist that he prove that he believes in it," perhaps the pupil will think "If he doesn't force me to give allegiance, I can at least learn to act that way sometimes."

8. Become familiar with the differing backgrounds of pupils and use them for enriching the classroom fare. Information in the resource unit which follows may assist, insofar as Chippewa pupils are involved, and other sections of this booklet are relevant too. But the same approach should be useful for all pupils in a class.

The girl whose family has unusual animals on their farm, the boy who lived in another part of the world for awhile, the pupil who is physically handicapped, one whose religion is uncommon, another with unique abilities of a specific sort, or even the one with red hair–all of them can make individualized contributions and help the rest of us broaden our horizons by sharing their experiences.

Perhaps a reasonable goal, as a start, would be to search until at least one extraordinary thing was discovered about every pupil taught in the course of a school day;and then to devise ways of utilizing those things in the classroom. Gradually the feeling may grow that we all may admire the particular experiences which make our friends different from ourselves, even while we have great pride in our own special traits.

9. With a reasonably advanced and appropriate class, perhaps in senior high school social studies, a direct approach in studying problems of minority groups may be fruitful. As a part of such a study, it is proper to consider the importance of images; the image a person has of himself, and where it comes from; and the image he has of other people and where those impressions originate. Even the question of how a per-

son remains true to his own race and yet learns to live with other races should be asked and discussed forthrightly.

In high school English classes, many modern works of poetry, prose, fiction, non-fiction and satire will illuminate these same problems. We have included a few in the bibliography of the Resource Unit but new ones appear on the market regularly. Some of them deal with the same problems of discrimination and search for identity but use Negroes, Jews or immigrants for their examples.

"WHAT CAN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM DO?"

Our information indicates that Indian parents place a high value on formal education and very much want their children to succeed in school, or at least to finish high school. On the other hand, most teachers, whom we have questioned, feel that the Indian homes typically do little to assist the school in encouraging good attendance and attention to schoolwork. In fact, they list the lack of home support as being the number one cause of school dropouts. Although this may indicate a shallow understanding of "causes" of behavior, it does hint at a lack of combined effort on the part of school and parent. Let us start with the assumption that it is logical for the school to take the initiative in improving the situation. It is unrealistic to expect that Indian parents will do so, in most cases, for reasons described in Chapter IV. How, then, can the school proceed to help Indian parents to be more effective agents in helping their children progress in school? Several possibilities suggest themselves.

1. Better communication must be established between school and parent. Various barriers may currently exist. For example, a particular Indian parent may habitually be uncommunicative in conversation with non-Indians; or the school may symbolize authority or even punishment which inhibits discussion; or the different language styles used by parent and teacher may interfere; or the school personnel may have no direct personal contact with Indian parents.

A special type of individual seems to be required here, someone who is part of the school operation but who knows the Indian people and who can discuss matters with them in a way that carries meaning. Certain teachers, counselors, and administrators already may fit that description. The school needs to identify such people and to assign this function as part of their specific responsibilities.

In situations where there is a sizable cluster of Indian parents living in a nearby area, the school might do well to "station" a full-time person there. He might be given some title such as "school representative" and might or might not be Indian himself. Perhaps he could also function as an adult education teacher, attendance counselor, evening study hall supervisor, etc.; but his most important duty would be to serve as a communication intermediary between the school and the village or reservation. As a resident, preferably over a period of several years, he could become known as an individual and, in turn, would be well enough acquainted with Indian pupils and parents to approach them on an individual basis. When the school had need to communicate with a given family, or with the parents as a group, the "school rep" would be their agent. When a particular Indian pupil or parent had reason for concern about something educational, it could be relatively easy for him to locate this official and comfortably discuss the matter.

Although such an official would not be thought of as part of the disciplinary authority of the school, he could still function in explaining regulations; urging stronger parent influence, and even "policing" attendance. Done with the right spirit of concern for the welfare of the pupils, such activities could strengthen, rather than weaken, his relationships in the community. Where several school districts jointly serve an Indian community, they might share in the expense.

Although perfect communication may never be possible between two differing sub-cultures, certain individuals seem to be capable of partially bridging the gap. Surely problems of certification, fringe benefits, and lines of authority could be ironed out for the "right" kind of person; one who is dedicated to the improvement of educational opportunity, who respects Indian people and who is respected by the school personnel. So much of this depends upon the type of life experiences which have shaped a person's personality, rather than upon some prescribed type of formal training, that "paper" qualifications should be subordinate to personal ones.

It is our belief that once such a person had established himself as knowledgeable, influential in both school and community, and trustworthy, he could do much to diminish the invisible barriers which currently exist between school and home in so many cases. Such a field worker position might be a good idea throughout education, for that matter. In any event, he might be thought of as a resource for the whole school system rather than as a person who is only benefiting a few.

2. The school system can facilitate efforts to familiarize its personnel with Indian people. They can arrange visits by teachers to Indian homes and communities or can plan, with Indian leaders, ways in which school people can take part in Indian community activities or attend functions held for other purposes. Special arrangements could also be made to bring Indian parents to the school for special activities such as American Education Week programs. Simply inviting them through notes sent home with pupils is not sufficient. Special transportation may have to be provided and the program may have to be set up in such a way as to have a special appeal; for instance, a presentation including active involvement of their own children.

Some schools resist such special efforts, saying, "If we do it for one group, then everybody expects it." Perhaps similar efforts would be beneficial for many non-Indian parents, too, and should be extended to all. In any case, if it takes a different sort of effort to bring the school and the Indian family into closer contact, then that effort should be made. There is no virtue in treating all clients alike, regardless of their differing needs.

3. The school's library collections should be expanded to include appropriate items such as some of those listed in our bibliography which would broaden the understanding of Indians and non-Indians alike regarding the Chippewa culture. Various materials can be obtained through Haskell Institute. Modern Indian organizations'

periodicals should also be included such as those from the American Indian Review, the National Congress of American Indians, and the Association on American Indian Affairs. In turn, deliberate efforts should be made to supply school news to any local Indian publications such as the reservation CAP newspapers which are becoming quite common. All school news would be welcome, but especially that which includes Indian pupils by name.

4. In the event that Project Headstart is abandoned, local districts might do well to study the experience gained there to determine a reasonable program to serve pre-school disadvantaged children. In our opinion, such programs should emphasize: (1) basic perceptions of children such as geometric shapes, colors, concepts of numerical wholes and parts, concepts of movement (as in rocking motions, straight or circular paths, etc.) and others related to verbal symbols, plus (2) a few social techniques such as sharing, helping, politeness, responding to others, and the like. A great variety of broadening experiences can serve as helpful background for future learning and partly substitute for the "invisible curriculum" of the middle-class home.

6. Some schools are having success in the elementary grades by providing special teachers who work part-time with slow learners in a particular skill area. For example, during the first part of the morning, this teacher may collect, from various classrooms, certain slow learners in arithmetic and work with them for a while, then return some to their "home" rooms and add others to her group for remedial reading work, and so on.

The National Teacher Corps interns are functioning in a somewhat similar fashion as members of teaching teams in certain schools. If this program is continued and adequately funded, it may supply a source of personnel to schools who have substantial numbers of disadvantaged pupils; and, after a period of years, may represent a reservoir of experienced teachers of the disadvantaged.

7. Schools with nearby reservations might be able to arrange a special course in "acculturation psychology," perhaps as part of an evening adult education program. Father John F. Bryde, S.J.,pioneered this type of project for Indians with acculturation problems at his Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Such a course examines selected characteristics of the traditional Indian culture; contrasts them with characteristics of modern American culture; identifies the ways in which such culture conflict can cause stress in Indian persons; and suggests attitudes and devices which are useful in adjusting to that stress. It must be conducted in a down-to-earth fashion and with much student involvement to attract and hold interest and would require a very special kind of teacher.

Response to Dr. Bryde's program has been enthusiastic from Indian and non-Indian alike. Additional courses would have to be designed with a particular community in mind. This would be a difficult undertaking, worthy of the best talents a local school system could supply; but the potential progress that could be made is almost unlimited.

5. Schools must realize that many disadvantaged children have special nutritional needs. Pupils should be required to eat lunch at school rather than making it a matter of choice, and the lunch menus should be planned with extra care. Many school lunches seem to be

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heavy on starchy foods. Some schools are showing good results with a plan which includes providing breakfast for disadvantaged children, shared by the teachers. This provides what Jules Henry calls "a calming down period" before school begins, especially for children whose previous night and early morning may have been anything but restful.

6. This might be the time for schools to reexamine their offerings in the industrial arts and homemaking areas. Practical skills of home maintenance and repair are important to all students, but particularly those with economic disadvantages whose interests are already focussed on the physical and practical side of life.

7. Schools might also expand the idea of a "Career Day" for senior high school pupils. Careers to be explained should include those which are realistic and local as well as the white-collar types. Parents should be involved, where possible, so they can better counsel their children and encourage whatever advanced education is called for.

"WHAT CAN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA DO?"

At the present time, the Minnesota State Department of Education has two full-time professional people in its Indian Education Unit with offices in Bemidji. One serves as a supervisor with major responsibilities for assisting the "budgeted schools," those with sufficient numbers of Indian pupils to qualify for special state aids. (This funding is provided from the federal government grants under the Johnson-O'Malley Act.)

The second position is that of Guidance Consultant. This person works with principals and through local school counselors, where they are available, and provides information and assistance relating to scholarships, entrance into college, vocational schools, or other forms of continuing education. He also works directly with a number of Indian young people, in particular providing educational guidance for those who are out of school or soon will be, and he assists those enrolled in Minnesota colleges and universities.

1. The activities and personnel of the Bemidji office need to be extended. The two positions are not nearly enough to meet the need. The schools serving Indian pupils are becoming too numerous and too widespread for such a limited staff to cover. Although the present personnel are frequently "in the field," their visits must necessarily be brief and widely spaced for most schools.

Also, these men have worked diligently over the years to improve school attendance and school continuation for Indian children. There has been a notable, even spectacular, improvement in this regard in recent years. But this increases the work load, particularly in the guidance area, to the point where there is even less time than before for these people to extend their operations. The harder they work, the more there is to do!

2. There is a good deal of useful data which could be gathered by the State Department, given sufficient man-hours to do the job. Follow-up information on Indian drop-outs, as well as on those who continue in some form of education, is needed. Data on Indian families immigrating to metropolitan areas and educational guidance for those people would be desirable. Quite a bit of basic research should be

underway to further our understanding of some of the very kinds of questions considered in this booklet.

The State Department should be more active in areas of adult education for Indian people and in assisting pre-school experiences. We need in-service and pre-service programs for teachers of Indian pupils. Ideally, the staff should be large enough to provide direct consultative services to schools which have special problems related to Indian education. Perhaps many of these "new" operations might be a part of a larger state effort to assist in the education of disadvantaged children throughout our state.

3. The Department could take the initiative in the appointment of a state-wide committee on Indian education. This might serve as an advisory committee to the Commissioner of Education in establishing some priorities for the expansion of state services into activities like those suggested above. The majority of this committee should consist of Indians. The committee might also serve to marshall various resources for these tasks and even to generate "new" money for their purposes.

4. In California, the American Indian Historical Society is studying and evaluating every elementary school social studies book for correction as to the role of the Indian in history. They have received widespread public support and cooperation. A similar move, perhaps including secondary school books, could be initiated or at least encouraged, by the State Department in Minnesota.

We do not propose censorship, of course, nor state-approved textbook adoptions, but the distorted and incomplete picture our present books give is a type of censorship itself. Perhaps supplementary teaching materials need to be developed to "fill in" this particular gap in our study of history. (This need must be even greater in states where Indians constitute a still larger proportion of the population than in Minnesota.)

THE PROBLEM OF REGULAR ATTENDANCE

Many teachers feel understandably frustrated when their best efforts are disrupted by sporadic attendance on the part of pupils. They react much more negatively to the pupil who misses five class periods scattered over a month's time than they do to the pupil who misses five consecutive days because of illness.

Of course, the prolonged absence often requires only one set of make-up assignments whereas each single day's absence may require almost the same amount of effort on the part of the teacher in devising and grading make-up work. We suspect, however, that the real reason for the teacher's negative reaction is, once again, the implied challenge in erratic attendance. It's not so much that the pupil is causing extra work for the teacher as it is the threat to the accepted middle-class behavior guides. Teachers accept without much question the belief that being in school every day is a good thing and that sporadic attendance is evidence of irresponsibility or laxity.

To put it differently, "the establishment" which runs things in our society has declared that "school is good" and "more school is even better." It follows then that regular daily attendance is much better than erratic attendance. But not all people have accepted that belief. Some appear to be saying, "Yes, school is good" but other things are good too, and "if a pupil attends most of the time that should be good enough." This helps to explain why some parents see little fault in occasionally keeping the child home to baby-sit or help with household work. For some families, shopping trips "to town" are big occasions, sometimes about the only family activities which are pre-planned, anticipated and enjoyed by the family as a unit. Unfortunately, such trips usually must come on a school day...but may have higher priority in the minds of parents and child than does a single day's schooling.

Yet, we must accept the fact that formal education is a planned, sequential activity and disruption of the sequence creates problems. Continual disruption may cause a slowdown of educational progress to the point where the pupil is too far "behind" to be effectively helped. For the occasional absence, individualized instruction, until the pupil can once again proceed with the rest of the group, is the usual answer. But when the absences are frequent, or the number of absentees is great, many teachers may not be able to provide the amount of individual help needed. A few schools are utilizing various techniques to provide almost totally individualized instruction in academic courses. If this trend continues, it may provide a partial answer to the problem.

Surely there is no single solution, however. Most of the recommendations in this chapter would have a bearing on the matter of attendance. Attitudes of some parents may be receptive to change to the point where they will be less lenient in providing written "excuses" for absences. Efforts of various school and community officials may assist in getting children onto the school bus in the mornings, where that is currently a problem. General improvement in educational experiences may change some pupils' attitudes to the point where school is more of an attraction itself and the pupil will be reluctant to miss. Personalized counseling should provide some help.

In some cases, school policies may even need reexamination in order that they be applied with understanding. While we cannot condone absenteeism which neither the parent nor the school is willing to excuse, we suggest that severe punishment for absences is seldom likely to improve the situation. The causes of an absence are often highly personal and the school should investigate them carefully before administering harsh punishment. For example, it makes little sense to "expel" or suspend a student for several days as punishment for absenteeism. If he was only seeking a way to avoid attending school, he's found it! If he was expressing lack of interest in education, or even rebelliousness, severe punishment is not likely to give him a more favorable attitude.

In our suggestions to the school system, we mentioned the appointment of a community educational representative who might also serve as an attendance officer. Some communities have had good success utilizing a local Community Action Program employee or other Indian resident to work with attendance problems. School districts at Carlton, Cloquet, Waubun and Walker, Minnesota have favorably reported on this arrangement. In general, this probably works better than having an "outsider" involved or a counselor who is reluctant to be involved in the disciplinary aspects of enforced attendance.

One reason for absenteeism of Indian pupils, in certain locales, has to do with the gathering of wild rice. As described later in the Resource Unit, ricing has been associated with economic betterment and important social experiences for Chippewa people for many, many generations. It is difficult to assess the true attitudes toward ricing today but at least one recent study shows that it still carries more than economic importance for Indians.[9]

When Indian students miss school to assist with ricing, a distressing situation develops. Unfortunately, the harvest usually takes place in the early part of the school year when the effects of a sustained absence are particularly difficult to overcome. In addition, experience shows that many of the children who miss school during ricing season, actually participate very little in the ricing activities but simply use it as an excuse. On the other hand, there are certainly cases where the family activity during ricing is vitally important in helping children understand something about their heritage and in bringing the family closer together.

It seems to us wrong for a school to adopt an arbitrary policy that would treat absenteeism during ricing harvest just like any other "unexcused" absence. For some pupils it might be thought of more like non-Christian religious holidays, such as Passover, for which absences may be approved. With improved communication between school and Indian community perhaps it will become possible for the school to determine those cases where absence is justifiable and those where it is not.

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A RESOURCE UNIT

MINNESOTA'S CHIPPEWA

MINNESOTA'S CHIPPEWA

A Resource Unit

Since the typical social studies text is published for nationwide use, the study of local community or of state history and geography calls for special individual preparation of lessons by teachers. Even where teaching materials for this purpose have been developed (on the history of Minnesota, for example) the role of Indian peoples is usually given only brief coverage.

One means of filling in this gap is through individual teacher-made units of instruction. The purpose of the resource unit presented in the following pages is to serve as a helpful reference and source of ideas to teachers as they plan their own lessons dealing with Chippewa life. No teacher will find it possible to use all of the information and suggestions included here; nor should he be limited by them. Local conditions, individual creativity and newly available materials should also influence him.

In addition to the usual social studies objectives, we believe that experience with studying this topic should provide the child who identifies himself with the Chippewa people with an increased pride in his heritage and an increased understanding of himself and his relatives. Non-Indian children should also gain increased appreciation and respect for Chippewa people and their ancestors.

A more lengthy version of this resource unit may be found in David L. Peterson's unpublished Master's paper (University of Minnesota, Duluth library, 1967).

HISTORY OF MINNESOTA'S CHIPPEWA INDIANS

The history of the Chippewa people can be traced with some accuracy to about 500-600 years ago. Prior to this time only loose conjecture and surmise can be offered to explain and map the wanderings of this people. Indian mythology and legend have interesting stories of the beginning of the world and man's placement upon it. William W. Warren suggests that the Chippewa people of his day considered themselves as a part of a tribe with mysterious and vague beginnings. Indeed the Chippewa word A-ni-shin-au-bag is translated by Warren as signifying "spontaneous man."[1] The Chippewa do not pretend to give an accurate account of their early history.

Prehistory to the Coming of the White Man

Certain facts are apparent which enable historians to determine a general path taken by the Chippewa Indians. This tribe is linked with the great Algonquian linguistic stock. Ethnologists adopted a classification of tribes on the basis of linguistic similarities years ago and over 60 linguistic families have emerged from this classification with the Algonquian among the largest. Other Algonquian family tribes include the Ottawa, Menomini, Winnebago, Sauk, Fox, and Potawatomi.

Minnesota has been the home of Indian people for thousands of years. A skeleton found in Brown's Valley in 1933 and called the "Brown's Valley Man," has been dated by anthropologists at from 8,000 to 12,000 years old. Another skeleton found in Otter Tail County in 1931 is believed to be thousands of years older than even the "Brown's Valley Man."[2]

Most historians agree that the Chippewa nation had its early home in the St. Lawrence River Valley and can be traced with some certainty from that area. How they came to settle in North America, however, is open to conjecture. Anthropologists feel that possibly a land bridge at the present Bering Straits could have brought Indian-like people to our continent.[3]

The history of the Chippewa in Minnesota is brief. They came to Minnesota within historic time from the general direction of the east. Great pressure was exerted upon the tribes as the fur traders led the impact of white settlement which pressed westward beginning during the Seventeenth Century. Under the pressure of new items wanted and offered by the fur traders, the Chippewa moved west in search of furs to trade for firearms, iron, steel, brass-made items and fabrics. The westward movement continued until the Chippewa found themselves between the Sioux in the west and the Iroquois pushing them from the east.

The first known contact of the Chippewa with Minnesota territory originated from La Pointe on Chequamegon Bay of Lake Superior opposite what is now known as Madeline Island, and in the Sault Sainte Marie district of Upper Michigan.[4] The Dakota (Sioux) and the Foxes claimed the land along the shores of Lake Superior. The Chippewa were able to gradually push these tribes from the area with the aid of firearms obtained from the fur traders. Subsequently the Fox and Sioux tribes retreated to areas near the Mississippi River.

The possession of firearms greatly aided the Chippewa in their westward movement. The use of firearms also aided in the harvesting of fur animals for trading purposes. The demand for furs became so great that the Chippewa moved even further westward and eventually across Lake Superior to Isle Royale and the Grand Portage, Minnesota area.[5]

It is not known precisely when the Chippewa entered the Sault Sainte Marie or La Pointe areas, but it is known that they were there before the fur traders came into the picture.

The first recorded remarks concerning the Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior were left us by the French missionaries. Much of the knowledge that we have of the Chippewa Indians comes from the Jesuit missionaries, through their writings in the Jesuit Relations. These courageous men accompanied the explorers and traders wherever they went and wrote extensively of their travels.

The Chippewa, being forced from the east by the Iroquois, had many battles with this tribe, culminating in a fierce fight at the outlet to Lake Superior, known now as Point Iroquois. The battle ended as a great Chippewa victory, and never again did the Iroquois invade Chippewa territory near Lake Superior.

The Chippewa were fighting various tribes even before 1671 near the east end of Lake Superior. For a time a no man's land existed in the unsettled south shore of the Lake Superior area. Chippewa scouts found a large island near the shore (Madeline Island) which appeared easily defended and provided much game and fuel. The Island of La Pointe became the center of Chippewa activity and many raids were made from this point. When Sioux hunters discovered the Chippewas encamped on the island they attacked and killed a group of small boys on the mainland. The Chippewa warriors in large lake canoes soon caught the Sioux attackers and destroyed them. Over one hundred and fifty Sioux were killed in this battle.

Fox warriors molested the Chippewa on the island also in an effort to protect wild rice areas to the south. After a large raiding Fox party made off with some younger members of the Chippewas, the Chippewa warriors again caught up to the Fox canoes and few Fox warriors escaped. This battle took place about 1690 and an end was put to the fighting near La Pointe. The Chippewa had gained a foothold on the shores of Lake Superior and had gained the respect and fear of their enemies.

The Fox tribe was driven out of the Lake Superior region permanently after a remarkable display of courage by Chief Bi-Aus-Wah of the Chippewa. The Fox Indians had captured his son and were going to kill the boy when Bi-Aus-Wah stepped from the bushes and offered to take the boy's place if the warriors would allow the boy to make his way unmolested back to his home. This was done and the chief died in his son's place. After the story became known, Chippewa warriors from encampments near and far came to seek vengeance for their dead chief. The main body of warriors found the Fox encamped near the headwaters of the St. Croix River and the Chippewa River in what is now Wisconsin. Furiously the Chippewa attacked and drove the decimated Fox villages entirely out of the region never to return.[6]

Meanwhile the Sioux enjoyed comfortable living along the Upper Mississippi River and in the Mille Lacs[7] area. After a short period of reasonable peace, fighting broke out between the Chippewa and Sioux in Northern Minnesota over the rich rice lakes and forests. In 1695 the French tried to put a stop to the fighting because it was ruining their fur business. After many talks the Chippewa ended up with possession of the Mille Lacs area. The Sioux had had little contact with the French and did not have the gunpowder as did the Chippewa.

About 1730, bands of Chippewa had moved into the Rainy Lake region and had joined other friendly tribes in their trading activities with the French. Just when the Sioux were driven out of the forested area of Northern Minnesota is not well determined. However, in 1736, the Sioux still ranged from near Mille Lacs to the Iowa line. The Sioux made a mistake which cost them dearly when they sent a party of 30 warriors to the Lake Superior region and killed a Chippewa family in 1737.[8] The Chippewa then began a relentless march against the Sioux which lasted for more than a century.

A large battle near the Sioux village of Kathio in 1744 or 1745, lasted three days and caused the Sioux to leave the Mille Lacs area for good. In 1748 the Chippewa forced the Sioux from the village of Sandy Lake after fierce fighting. This battle was led by the boy, now a man, whose life had been spared when his father offered to take his place in death at the hands of the Fox tribe. Sandy Lake became a base for the Chippewa to send out raiding parties against the Sioux. In 1748, the Chippewa drove the Sioux from the Winnibigoshish and Cass Lakes area. The famous Cut-Foot Sioux battle took place when the Sioux sent a war party to Sandy Lake and met a Chippewa war party from Leech Lake. The battle lasted one-half day and Sioux were again roundly defeated. From this time the Sioux began their southerly retreat. By 1770 the Chippewa had occupied all of the northern area of Minnesota. The settlement of Red Lake by the Chippewa is marked from the visit of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a French explorer and trader in 1792.[9]

A small group of Sioux were able to live unnoticed in the Thief River Falls area until they were discovered in the early 1800's and driven out. The United States government stepped in and arranged a peace conference to establish a boundary between the Chippewa and Sioux tribes in 1825. Recurring fighting continued for years whenever Sioux and Chippewa met. Not until after 1850 did fighting stop altogether. Only then did the longest war ever fought on the North American Continent end with a complete victory for the Chippewa.[10]

Involvement in the Fur Trade

The first white man to see Lake Superior was the mysterious Frenchman, Etienne Brule', who left no journal, but we are sure that he traveled upon Lake Superior about 1618. At the time of the exploration by Radisson and Groseilliers no Chippewa were found in the Minnesota area.[11] Daniel Greysolon Sieur Dulhut, in 1669, set up trading posts at Grand Portage and Duluth. Shortly thereafter, the Chippewas figured largely in the fur trade business. The French traders had materials needed by the Chippewa. The Chippewa would trap and skin the animals and extract what goods they could for the furs. All through Northern Minnesota small trading posts were established at select locations to facilitate the trading of furs with the Chippewa. Before long the Indian's way of life changed to the extent that they became dependent on much of the white man's goods such as guns, ammunition, copper kettles, knives, blankets and certain foods. After years of using and depending upon goods such as these, the Chippewa found that life was easier and more comfortable with their use.

Traders vied to see who could get as many pelts as possible and competed with one another for the Indian fur trade. Credit was extended to the Chippewa and their needs were met. When the competition was not as strong, the Indians received less for their furs and credit was cut back.

The French got along well with the Chippewa, however. They came for furs. They did not come to establish homes, cities and government. The Frenchmen often dressed in Indian garments, took Indian wives and enjoyed Indian food. Frenchmen learned much from the Chippewa, including the best methods of hunting, fishing and trapping in addition to travel routes and methods. The Chippewa acquired many goods and conveniences as well as the white man's vices and diseases from the Frenchman. The Frenchmen were easy-going and assumed an equal role with the Chippewa. The Chippewa felt it easy to deal with the Frenchmen and no altercation of importance occurred between the two.

The British, however, did not fare so well as the French. After driving the French from the Lake Superior region, the English never won the Chippewa's trust or friendship. In fact, the Chippewa were known to have fought on the side of the French in wars with the British.[12] The English did not have the fraternizational skill of the Frenchmen and, after all, the English did drive out the Indian's friends, the French.

The English in turn, were driven out by the Americans. Twenty years after the Revolution, in 1796, the new American republic took over the fur trade in the Great Lakes region, and for many years operated most of the trading posts in the Chippewa country. Shortly after, private fur companies came into the region and John Jacob Astor soon controlled the buying and selling of most of the furs of the American Fur Company which controlled most of the trading posts.

Furs in the European world were a luxury. Beaver hats were fashionable. However, the style changed and the demand for the beaver fur dropped. Of course by that time, the Indian people were dependent upon the items obtained from the trader for their livelihood, and when their main source of income was lost they were in dire straits.

The Indian, from the beginning, respected and even feared the white man. The white man, who could never get enough furs and pelts to satisfy his desires, would suffer untold hardships and even death to get more and more pelts. He always assumed command of all situations and seldom showed fear. He was a good trader and a hard master. The motivating factor of these traders, therefore, was the profits to be secured from the fur trade.

Treaties with the United States Government

Following the Revolutionary War, the policy of the United States towards the Indian tribes was humane in concept. However, the policy failed to recognize the fact that there was no similarity in cultural backgrounds, living conditions, and organizations. Cultural levels of the tribes varied greatly.

Band government was in the hands of the chiefs, hereditary or elected, and a council of warriors. A chief among the Minnesota Indians had little real authority over his band other than his personal prestige. There was no such thing as individual or even group ownership, and this confusion as to ownership of land has been a great source of bad feeling from 1783 to the present.

The first treaty entered into by the United States with the Chippewa nation was signed in 1785. The first treaty of importance to Minnesota was not negotiated until 1826, when, in a treaty signed at Fond du Lac, the Chippewa ceded the "right to search for, and carry away, any metals or minerals from any part of their country."[13] Nine other treaties were signed between the Chippewa and the United States government. It should be kept in mind that all of the treaties were negotiated for the main purpose of opening up land for white settlement. Also, many fur traders pressed for the negotiating of treaties and the paying of cash to the Indians so that the Indians would have money to pay their debts to the traders. The custom of the traders in letting the Indians have much credit, especially before a treaty was signed, was prevalent at the time. All of the Minnesota Indian treaties also had in common the description of the land ceded and the consideration to be given the Indians.

Some of the more important treaties between the United States government and the Minnesota Chippewa are described below:

Treaty of 1837 - St. Peter - Chippewa Nation

With pressure from the fur traders, a treaty was made at Fort Snelling by which the Chippewa Indians ceded their lands east of the Mississippi River as far as the Crow Wing River, northeastward to include the headwaters of the St. Croix River and much of Northern Wisconsin. This treaty thus released huge stands of timber which the lumbermen wanted. The Indians were to receive cash, goods, and services totalling $700,000. Very shortly after the treaty was ratified, lumbermen were busy removing logs from the area.[14]

Treaty of 1847 - Fond du Lac - Lake Superior and Mississippi Bands

Treaty of 1847 - Leech Lake - Pillager Band

These two treaties ceded land west of the Mississippi River from the Crow Wing River to Otter Tail Lake to be used as a reservation for the

Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin. The idea was to create a buffer zone between the warring Chippewa and Sioux tribes. The idea did not work as the Winnebago didn't want any part of such an arrangement.

Treaty of 1854 - La Pointe - Lake Superior and Mississippi Bands

Treaty of 1855 - Washington, D.C. - Mississippi Bands

The pressure for more pine land cessions increased as lumbering operations expanded on the Mississippi and St. Croix Rivers. Two treaties accomplished this end; one at La Pointe, and the other at Washington, D.C. In these treaties the Chippewa ceded practically all of their lands extending to the Red River of the North, except for small areas near the Nett Lake and Red Lake holdings of these particular bands. Reservations were set aside for the various Lake Superior and Mississippi Bands. Under the La Pointe agreement, the Grand Portage Band obtained the reservation it still holds.

Treaty of 1863 - Washington, D.C. - Mississippi, Pillager and Lake Winnebigoshish Bands

This treaty relinquished certain reservation lands set aside for them in the treaty of 1855. A new treaty signed in 1864 superceded the treaty of 1863, and reservations were established for these bands around Leech Lake.

Treaty of 1866 - Washington, D.C. - Bois Forte Band[15] (Nett Lake)

This treaty, when signed, ceded all of the holdings of the Bois Forte Band in Northern Minnesota. Of special importance were the lands around Lake Vermillion where rumors of gold caused the government to place much value on the land. The government agreed to set up a tract of land for a reservation for the band.

Treaty of 1867 - Washington, D.C. - Mississippi Band

This treaty set aside lands for a reservation in the White Earth area which was to be used as a place where Indians from across the state could migrate and settle.

Later cessions and executive orders added and deleted lands until 1890 when the reservations were approximately as they are now as land area is concerned. Within approximately 50 years in Minnesota Chippewa found themselves restricted to a few specified tracts of land in Northern Minnesota. Between 1837 and 1889 they ceded all of their lands in what is now Minnesota with the exception of the Red Lake Reservation. The Red Lake Reservation is unique among Chippewa Indian reservations in that it is land that has never been ceded to the United States government. The Red Lake Indian Band hold their land communally under original aboriginal title.

Federal Laws Pertaining to the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota[16]

Various laws of great and of minor importance pertain to the Minnesota Chippewa. Only the very important laws which affect these people are included here.

Northwest Ordinance - 1787

This ordinance undertook to protect the rights of Indians in the lands they occupied. Importantly, it recognized Indian sovereignty.

Act of 1789

This act established the Department of War and assigned all matters relative to Indian affairs to that department.

Act of March 11, 1824

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established under this act. The act did not pass until 1834.

Act of March 3, 1849

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of Interior from the Department of War under this legislation.

Act of March 3, 1871

This act abolished the old method of treaty-making with Indian people. No longer would the United States government consider the Indian tribes as nations. Under this act the Indians were deprived of the right of free choice of counsel for the redress of injuries.

Act of February 8, 1887

(The General Allotment Act or the Dawes Act.) This is one of the most important pieces of Indian legislation in that the President could allot tribal lands to family heads or single persons over 18; 160 acres to the family heads and 80 acres to those single persons over 18. The act was supposed to help in the assimilation of the Indian people. The unfavorable effects of allotment were not anticipated by the lawmakers.

The Indian people had a right to use their allotted land in any manner they wished. The result of this act was that those Indian people who were unable to accept the responsibility of individual land ownership and management, sold or leased their holdings to non-Indians for a small amount of cash. This led to great amounts of land being turned over to the lumber barons and other white settlers whose greed was behind the passage of the act in the first place. The Indian's way of life did not place great value on the utilization of the land as the white man understood it. In 1887 the Indians owned 140,000,000 acres of land and in less than 45 years this was reduced by over

90,000,000 acres which was allotted and then sold to non-Indians. Only the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians did not accept allotment.

Act of June 2, 1924

Under this act all Indians born in the United States finally became citizens of the United States. They were also given the right to vote under this act.

Meriam Survey - 1928

This federal survey was the first objective, scientific survey of Indian conditions. Generally it portrayed the Indian conditions as very poor and laid the blame to the Allotment Act. It suggested that education be recognized as the most important task of the Indian Service.

The Johnson - O'Malley Act - 1934

This opened the way to extensive cooperation on a contract basis between the State of Minnesota and the Federal Government. Assistance was provided for the educational, health, and welfare attention of the Indians of Minnesota. Educationally, a Division of Indian Education was set up under the Minnesota Department of Education and all Indian schools went on a public school basis except the Pipestone Boarding School. The state contributes to the support of all Indians attending public non-reservation schools as it does for all pupils. In addition, in schools where Indians qualify for Federal assistance, the state enters into a contract with the federal government to acquire "Johnson-O'Malley" funds for local school assistance on the basis of need.

Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act - 1934

The adoption of this act was the outgrowth of the suggestions found in the Meriam Survey. The law turned the United States Indian policy upside down by readopting the attitude that Indian tribes were limited sovereign groups, and as such they could make agreements with the Government. Under this act all of the Chippewa Bands in Minnesota, except for the Red Lake Band, organized themselves as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe.

The most important part of the act was the recognition of the inherent right of the Indian tribes to operate through governments of their own creation. Some of the more important purposes of the act are: to extend to the Indians the right to form businesses and other organizations; to establish a credit system for the Indians; to grant rights of home rule for the Indians; to provide for vocational education for the Indians.

Act of August 13, 1946

This act established the Indian Claims Commission which was to hear claims against the United States on behalf of any tribe. These claims are for money which was not paid or was underpaid to the tribes for land ceded to the United States. Some Minnesota groups have benefited from this act and other claims are pending.

Resolution of August 1, 1953

Since the passage of this resolution by Congress the Federal Government has been trying to get out of the Indian business. It established the policy of termination of the Indian groups from Federal care by Congress. Some Indian groups have been terminated since the adoption of this resolution. The steps, however, were taken by the government and did not allow the reservations to fully participate or consent to the action. The result was disastrous for the reservations terminated.[17] For those reservations who anticipate termination there is a prevalent attitude of confusion, fear and distrust.

Although the government seems to have ceased pressing for compliance, it is *still* the latest statement made by Congress on the subject of Indian affairs.

Anti-Poverty Act of 1964

This act has affected all of the reservations in our state. All reservations have various programs in existence which make use of the funds made available from this act. Certain portions of The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (P.L. 89-10), The Vocational Education Act, and The Higher Education Act also have special importance to disadvantaged pupils.

Early Missionary and Educational Work

Missionary activity in the Minnesota area began with the Catholic priests of the missionary orders who followed the great water highways from the Atlantic to Upper Minnesota. Father Hennepin was with the Sioux in Mille Lacs in Minnesota in 1680. Many priests traveled with the explorers and traders during the French period of occupation in Minnesota.

Father Baraga, from 1832 to 1852 published many works in the Chippewa language including hymnals and a grammar and dictionary. Father Pierz began his missionary career in Minnesota in 1838 in Grand Portage and had posts in most of the Indian villages in Northern Minnesota. The Catholic priests did much to convert the Indians of Northern Minnesota to Christianity.

When the British, and later the Americans, took over the area from the French, Protestant missionary activity began in Minnesota. In 1830 Fredrick Ayer and William Boutwell began missionary operations in Minnesota at Sandy Lake, Leech Lake and Lake Pokegama.

Episcopal work among the Chippewa began in 1852 when Rev. James Lloyd Breck arrived at Gull Lake. Rev. Henry Whipple made many journeys through Chippewa country and was regarded as a great outspoken friend of the Indians.[18]

The missionary activities of both Protestant and Catholic missionaries included education and school. Parochial schools were operated on many reservations and today Red Lake and White Earth reservations still each have one school operated by the Catholic Church.

In the middle 1800's, government schools serving reservations in Minnesota began to function. Some boarding schools were built and government day schools were in operation on some of the reservations. Many of these were manual labor schools where some part of the day was spent in the classroom and the same amount of time was spent on a farm or shop detail.

Boarding schools added the discipline of complete control of the child's waking hours. They were usually located some distance from the reserves and forbade use of Indian dress or language. Most boarding schools wished to do away with any traits of Indian culture. The Meriam Survey found this type of education to be inadequate.

After 1912 boarding schools were no longer used in Minnesota except for one at Pipestone. These were replaced by the government day schools and eventually by the public schools. Today the Bureau of Indian Affairs contributes (through the State Department of Education) to the support of Minnesota schools serving Indians but operates none of its own in the state. Many public laws provide help to school districts with Indian students in attendance. The Johnson-O'Malley Act has already been cited as an example of this type of legislation.

Today the public schools serving the reservations, for the most part, are on a par with the rest of the state.

CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA

The history of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota is a fascinating chapter of our state's story. The way of life of the Chippewa people before the white man came is a valuable and all but vanished culture. Their outlook on life and relationship with nature should give us cause to reflect upon our civilization and all of its problems. The teacher should realize that there was much of value in the life of the early Chippewa. It is worth our while, and worth the while of a group of youngsters to examine the life of a people who were able to live in close harmony with the realities of nature.

When the first white explorers reached the Lake Superior region in the seventeenth century, the Indians they met called themselves "outchibouac." This tribal name has come to be spelled and pronounced in several ways because they did not have a written language at the time. The term Chippewa is used in the United States, and Ojibwa is often used in Canada.[1]

The Chippewa were scattered in loosely knit bands or villages over a territory that extended more than a thousand miles east and west and about 500 miles north and south. Most of the bands located in heavily timbered plains, along low hills, and near the bountiful lakes and streams. Game was usually plentiful and there were many and varied food crops to be had in the wild. The woods consisted of pine, fir, and spruce in the upper regions, and in the lower regions of the occupied territory could be found tamarack, willow, oak, poplar, ash, birch, and maple.

The author hopes to present a brief description of Chippewa life and customs from which the teacher can obtain a glimpse of the heritage of this people. It is hoped that the teacher will present many of these skills and the way of life of the Chippewa in a unit that the class can participate in; especially so as to enhance the understanding by the Chippewa child of his cultural background, and appreciation by non-Indian children for a culture that has value and has made valuable contributions to the society in which we live.

Social Organization of the Early Minnesota Chippewa

The social world of the Chippewa may be approached from the aspect of the local group, the clan, and the tribe. When we consider the tribe we think of the many people who lived around the Great Lakes and called themselves "Chippewa" or "Ojibwa." However, despite the customs, language, beliefs, and way of life which they held in common, they have never been a close knit political entity. Instead, they comprised many local groups very independent of one another.

The symbol of the clan was the totem and every Chippewa from birth belonged to one of several clans. Each clan had its own distinct totemic emblem which usually represented a forest animal. Many myths have grown up concerning these animals and how they got their names. Some of the more common clan names were: bear, crane, catfish, moose, eagle and loon.[2]

Clan membership was inherited and passed down from one generation to another through the father. Children always belonged to the clan of their fathers and never of their mothers. An important aspect of the clan organization was that marriage between two people belonging to the same clan was not allowed. When a Chippewa wanted to marry, he had to find his partner from another clan. Often no blood relationship existed between members of the same clan. However, a belief existed in which totemic animals lived as their ancestors and that they were descended from a number of common forest animals. Therefore the Chippewa thought of themselves as being related if they were from the same clan. Clan membership was very strong, often stronger than the biological family group.

The small local group or the family consisted of the husband, the wife, their children, and perhaps the husband's parents. The family was very closely knit, and lived in its own encampment, isolated from the next neighboring family by the forest. The livelihood of the family depended upon the resourcefulness of its members. In the spring several family groups would gather together to collect maple sap. A form of a village would often appear and leadership would rest in the hands of the head of one of the families gathered together. Later in the spring the village would disband and the people would return to the limits of the single family. The family was constantly on the move in search of food, but life was stable and followed well-established patterns.

Types of Dwellings

Of the many types of dwellings, the two most commonly built and lived in were the dome-shaped wigwam or wickiup and the peaked lodge. The dome-shaped wigwam could be built very quickly and without much trouble. Around a ten by twelve foot area, a framework of slim poles would be erected. The trunks of the poles would be driven into the ground and the upper ends pulled across and tied to form the frame for the dome of the wigwam. Two rows of crosspoles would be lashed about three and six feet from the ground. At one end an opening would be left for the doorway. The sides of the dwelling would often be covered with mats woven from bulrushes or birchbark. The roof would be covered with birchbark which had been sewed together, with a hole at the peak left open for the smoke to escape. The doorway would be covered with a separate mat or a deerskin or moose hide.

The peaked lodge is very similar to a modern wedge tent. The framework was of a series of crossed poles driven into the ground at one end and lashed together near the tops so that a ridge pole could be supported. This framework was covered with birchbark, usually, with openings at both ends. A smoke hole was not necessary as there would be cracks near the peak between the birchbark sheets and the cross poles. The length of the lodge depended upon the size of the family. Early records tell of lodges having three or four fireplaces, indicating more than one family.

The inside of the dwelling was laid out according to a traditional plan. The children's place was near the center, near the fire. Mother and father would sit on either side of the doorway, and the grandparents across the room at the rear. This way the parents could watch the children as they had to pass by them to go through the door.

The fireplace was in the center and was attended to by the women all day. The women were responsible for the preparing of meals, the making of clothing, curing meat, tanning leather, brewing dye, making cooking utensils, weaving mats and nets, gathering birchbark, collecting wild foods and caring for the children. The women were assisted in these many jobs by their daughters. The father was the hunter and trapper. Naturally the dwellings would be crowded and storage space was then handled by building racks of shelves outside on tripods high enough off the ground so that the food stuffs were kept from dogs or other animals. Cedar boughs were spread inside the dwelling on the ground and at night the family was covered with blankets made from animal hides. During the day these blankets would be rolled up and stored along the walls for seats.[3]

Despite the severe cold of a winter night the lodges were reasonably warm and comfortable. Often winter evenings were spent around the fire listening to stories of Indian life, the forests and the spirits, as told by the grandparents. If the weather was unusually cold or stormy, one of the adults would stay awake to tend the fire, seeing that it maintained its warmth.

A medicine pole was commonly put up near the dwellings. It was about 20 feet tall and usually carried the totem sign of the owner or the sign of the Mide' priests that performed the ceremony when the building was erected. Often a sacrifice would be attached to the pole.

Recreation

Few tribes have been more favorably situated to enjoy wholesome sports than have the Chippewa. With an invigorating climate and many woods, streams and lakes, great pleasure was taken in such necessary activities as canoeing, hunting, fishing, tobogganing, and snowshoeing. The Chippewa found time for many types of recreation. They enjoyed games of chance and of physical dexterity. They were especially fond of a game called the "moccasin game," a type of guessing game. The idea of the game is similar to hiding a pea under one of a number of shells and the opponent trying to guess under which shell the pea can be found. In the moccasin game an object would be hidden under one of a number of moccasins and the opposing players would have to guess under which moccasin the object was placed.

Another guessing game was played with a bowl and several circular bone counters painted black on one side and various bright colors on the other side. The bowl would be struck on the ground so that the counters would fall back into the bowl. Scoring was done on the basis of the color combinations set up before the game began.

The "bone game" was a favorite of many. In this game a thong of moosehide was attached to a slender bone of six to eight inches. Strung loosely on the thong were a number of small bones from the hooves of deer. At the end of the thong a rough piece of hide about three inches in diameter or less was tied firmly to the thong. The piece of hide had small holes punched at random. The idea was to see how many points could be earned by holding the slender bone and swinging the thong up so that the bone could catch as many small deer bones as possible and to catch the piece of hide through one of the small holes.

There were many games calling for physical dexterity. Lacrosse was one of the most popular and has been adopted by the white man. A stick would be used with a small net or pouch made at the end of the stick which controlled the ball as it was carried or thrown. Teams would try to take the ball to a certain goal. Originally no rules were set up other than naming a goal and the game usually was quite rough.

Dancing had great ceremonial significance, but it was a popular form of recreation as well. Story telling was another form practiced usually in the evenings when the Indians were confined to their wigwams. Story telling also served to pass along from one generation to the next the traditions of the tribe. Most of the stories reflected the closeness to nature as the stories were about animals, the forest and the supernatural.

Life Patterns of the Chippewa

Life began in a cradle board or atikanagon for a newly born Chippewa baby. The cradle board was sometimes ornately decorated with beadwork and carvings. Usually a board was fashioned two feet long, one foot wide and an inch thick and with a curved piece of wood at the bottom which held the infant's feet in place. The baby would be wrapped in blankets, and thongs, laced around the blanket, held the baby in place without harming him. Moss which was clean and sanitary was often used as a diaper. Indian children apparently enjoyed their first year in the cradle board.

Parents, believing that spirits which held power over human life were ever present, sought to attract the benevolent powers and also tried to distract the evil spirits. Religion and magic were vital to the Chippewa in establishing contact with the supernatural. To insure health and guidance for the child a wooden loop was fixed to the cradle board which could be used for lifting, hanging on a limb, and carrying and also served as a sort of "crash bar." On the loop could be attached many articles of religious significance. One such item was the "dream catcher" or "dream net" which was a small circle of wood filled with strands of sinew to look much like a spider's web. This was to catch the evil spirits which might harm the baby.

The parents would give the baby a name, of course, but more important than this name was his ceremonial name which was often given by a person whom the parents chose because of spirit powers he received in dreams. Much importance was placed on dreams. The Chippewa believed that through dreams the guardian spirit would manifest itself, which was what every person wished to have. After much deliberation the name-giver would be chosen. A ceremony was conducted at which time the name-giver's power it was hoped would be transferred to the baby.[4]

Chippewa parents were very fond of their children. Children were treated gently and tactfully, and were always reminded of the things which the parents considered important to their well-being. Physical punishment was almost never applied. Fear was used, but never to the extent of producing a loss of self-confidence. One of the greatest forces of keeping the children in line was that of public opinion. There was no privacy in the wigwams and even during the time of year when the small village was established little privacy was available. Therefore, everybody knew what everybody else was doing, and the threat of gossip alone was enough to stop most questionable behavior.

Training for adult life was begun soon in a child's life. Girls learned household chores from their mothers, and boys were taught the fundamentals of hunting, trapping, snaring, stalking, and learned to observe the habits of animals. Early training was essential for Chippewa youngsters as marriage took place at an early age. Newlyweds were expected to set up their own households after a year of marriage and, since they would be quite isolated from others for most of the year, their lives depended on how well each member of the family performed his duties.

The behavior of young people was pretty well restricted until marriage. Before a young man could even talk to a girl he admired, he would first have to get the permission of the parents. Once the intention of marriage was evident, he would kill a deer or another large animal to show his skill at providing meat for the family and his skill as a hunter. If his proposal was accepted, he would be invited to join the family in eating the meat he had provided. Usually after marriage the couple would live with her parents and the groom would provide the whole family with meat for a year. After this period of time the couple would go elsewhere to set up their own household.

When death came the Chippewa was again the object of a ceremony. The death rites were to insure that the newly released spirit would safely enter the spirit world and begin a long life in that unknown land. The dead one would be mourned, but he would also be given courage and a reminder that he had now joined all of the other company of spirits, many of his own friends and relatives included. A close friend would deliver a eulogy, and there would be much drumming, shaking of rattles and wailing.

The body would be carefully washed and dressed in his finest clothes. Often the face would be painted and the body left for one day in his wigwam. After wrapping the body in animal skins and surrounding him with the things that had been his favorites during his life, the body was either placed on a platform and placed in the fork of a tree, or a shallow grave would be dug. After sawn lumber became available the Chippewa would build small shrine-like boxes over the graves to protect the items left for the deceased to take into the afterlife.

Food and Its Continuous Collection

Searching for food was a major task of the Chippewa and no matter what the season, they would devote much of the working day to the collection and preparation of food. Dependence upon the natural environment for their food meant paying great attention to all the things around them and moving from place to place as the seasons changed. Their staples were meat, fish, wild rice, and maple sugar. Some groups cultivated the soil and grew corn, beans, pumpkins and squash.

The food gathering cycle of the spring season started when the snow began to melt. All winter the family groups hunted and trapped with little contact with other family groups. In the spring, groups of families would gather in the maple groves to collect the sap from the trees. Each family had the right to a certain section of the "sugar bush," and this right was handed down over the generations. There was little time for recreation at the sugar camps, as the process of collecting and boiling down the sap was long and tedious. The encampment was enjoyable to a degree as sugaring meant a return of warm weather. The sap was collected in containers made of birchbark, called *wigwass makak*, which could be stored from year to year. A granulated sugar called *sisbakwat* was made from the sap which became a staple food as well as a seasoning for fruits, vegetables and cereals. The sugar was poured into molds and then set in the cool air to harden.

Even in the search for food the close relationship between man, nature and the supernatural was noticed. The first portion of maple sap would usually be offered to the spirits. As soon as the sap had been collected the village would soon disband. The agricultural people would begin to cultivate their crops, the others turning to hunting wild game.[5]

The blueberry crop was an important crop harvested in the summer months. Other berries harvested in the summer were chokecherries, June berries, wild raspberries, and low bush cranberries. Wild ginger, bearberry, and mountain mint were harvested as seasonings. The seasonings could be used to make beverages, and could be added to many food items.[6]

In September the most important crop was harvested. This crucial crop was wild rice, or *manomin*; a valuable staple for the Chippewa. The rice grows in shallow lakes and marshes. Wind storms can ruin a good crop overnight. It must be harvested at the proper time or the heads of the rice will fall into the water. Harvesting was an exciting time as it marked the end of the growing season, and a time of festivity. Socializing and thanksgiving celebrations to the spirits were a part of the occasion.

Again, each family had right to a certain section of the marshy land where the rice grew. The harvesting was usually done by the women, two to a canoe, one poling, as paddles were useless in the heavy plant growth. The woman in the stern of the canoe did the poling, and the other woman would reach out with one hand and bend the rice stalks over and into the canoe so that she could knock off the heads of the rice with a stick, *mamagoshhaiganak*, held in the other hand. Sometimes bunches of rice were tied together in the marsh to be picked up later. On shore, the kernels of rice would be dried, and then parched to loosen the husks. The husks were removed by use of a wooden pestle or by directly stepping on the kernels with a clean pair of moccasins over a birchbark mat. The husks would be cleared by winnowing and the rice stored for the winter in birchbark or basket containers, watabimakak. The winnowing tray was made of birchbark. The rice was boiled in water, or used as the base of a broth or eaten dry. Often it was used to season wild meat, especially fowl.[7]

Corn was the chief cultivated crop and was eaten in a number of ways. It could be pounded, parched, roasted or boiled. Pumpkins and squash and the wild berries were stored for the winter in an underground pit, about six feet deep and lined with birchbark. It was covered with more birchbark, hay, logs, and dirt. It would keep the food for many months. These dried foods when used were mixed with water and heated. Heating was done by placing hot stones in the wooden or birchbark containers along with the water and vegetables.

Fish were another important staple, as they could be caught in all seasons. Summer fishing began when the maple sap had been collected. Towards late summer fishing was intensified so that the meat could be dried and stored for the winter. Fish were caught with nets or seines, and hooks and line. Sometimes Indians would spear fish at night in canoes by attracting the fish with the light of a birchbark torch. During the winter, ice fishing was common and Indian men were proud of their artificial lures which were carved of wood.[8]

During autumn the family would move to the hunting camp. Trapping was also done during the winter season. The animals the Chippewa Indians sought for food included deer, moose, and bear. These animals were killed with bow and arrows. Some meat was eaten soon after the animal was killed but often it was cut into strips and dried over slow fires to be stored for the winter. Rabbits, muskrats, otter and beaver were also hunted by the Indians. The fat in the tail of a beaver was considered a delicacy. Duck, pigeons, and other types of fowl were also hunted.

The chief means of hunting was with bow and arrows. The larger animals were not killed outright but bled to death as the Indians followed the obvious trail. The Indians often used animal calls and hunted at night by torchlight.[9]

The trappers in the family would catch large animals in deadfall traps. Usually a log or timber would fall on the animal when a trigger was tripped, pinning it to the ground. Smaller animals were caught in nets and snares.

The Chippewa hunter was skilled, having been schooled as a boy in observing, stalking and killing of game. He would use his charms to ensure success. The charms were to cause the spirits to help the hunter find and kill game. The trapper provided both furs and food for the family, and trap lines often extended for miles through the woods.

Use of Natural Resources

Fire, iskote, was the most useful "tool" that the Indian possessed. He could find warmth, he could cook, and he could use it for hunting. Before the white man's flint came along he used a wooden fire drill which when rotated fast enough would ignite shredded bark.

Wood and stone were used far more than any other materials in making of tools and equipment. From wood and wood fibers they could make bows and arrows, twine, thread, snowshoes, toboggans, sleds, drums, containers, etc. From stone could be made pipes, knives, scrapers and axes.

Twine was a most useful article in the life of the Chippewa people. It was made from the inner bark of the basswood tree. After removing the inner bark and cutting it into strips, it was soaked. Then these strips were cut into thinner strips and dried. The fibers have many layers which can be separated for whatever use is intended. Twine needs one layer; baskets need many. Other trees, such as the wood nettle, were also used to make twine. Wood nettle was finer and thread was made from it. Bowstrings were also often made from this fiber.

Hunting bows were made of a good oak or ash. Usually they were about four feet long, sometimes decorated with etched patterns and dyes. Bowstrings were sometimes made of the snapping turtle's neck which would not shrink or stretch. Arrows were made from the trunks of the June berry bush. Arrowheads were inserted in a notch cut in one end of the arrow. There were many types of arrows. Those used to kill rabbits had a tip of a turtle claw to penetrate deeply; those used for waterbirds wouldn't sink if the arrow missed its target. The arrows used to kill deer had stone heads attached so that the shaft would pull out when the animal was hit and cause it to bleed to death. Eagle or hawk feathers were used for fletching.[10]

Snowshoes, *agimag*, were an essential part of the equipment of the Chippewa because of the heavy snows and the long hunting and trapping trips which were necessary in the winter. Bearpaw or oval snowshoes were worn by the women for use near the camp and long pointed snowshoes were worn by the men. The snowshoes were made of ash and the netting was made of rawhide of the moose or deer.

Toboggans were made of hardwood as were the sleds used by the Chippewa. Both of these were sometimes pulled by dogs, the only animal domesticated by the Chippewa.

In summer the Chippewa traveled the many waterways of Northern Minnesota by canoes, *wigwass-tchiman*. The canoes were made of birchbark which was light, maneuverable to a high degree, and strong enough so that an Indian could kneel on the floor to paddle as no seats or center board were used in the canoe. Birchbark was cut from the tree in the spring when it was easy to peel. The ribs and other parts of the canoe were made of cedar and great care was taken so that the canoe was balanced. The outline of the canoe was first staked out on the ground, strips of bark set in place held by the stakes, and an inner lining was laid. Then all the pieces were sewn together and fastened to the ribs. The thwarts were then positioned and finally every seam was waterproofed with hot pine pitch. Some very large canoes were constructed by the Chippewa. The great war canoes were very fast and could hold many warriors.

Mats were used a great deal in the building of the dwellings and as floor coverings. They were usually made of bulrushes or cedar bark and woven while the strands were still wet. Bags and baskets were often woven, but birchbark was usually used as it was found in great quantities. Birchbark supplied the material for many utensils, containers, and holders.

Two types of drums, *tewèigan*, were used by the Chippewa. One was held by the hand, and was simply a piece of rawhide stretched over a wooden hoop and laced tightly on the opposite side. This was called a "moccasin drum" and was similar to a tambourine. The other type of drum was larger and made from a section of log which was partially hollowed out with a hole drilled from the outside into the hollow and a plug inserted in the hole. The drumhead was made of deerskin held in place by a hoop. The drum was filled with water before being used and left to soak until tightened, then the water drained out and the drum placed near a fire to insure the right sound effect. The only other musical instrument used by the Chippewa was a simple flute carved from cedar, ash or sumac. It usually had six finger holes.[12]

Wood had value in making such utensils as spoons, bowls, ladles, clubs, and yokes. Bone was used to make arrowheads, needles, and hoes. Pipes were made of various stone materials and some were very large and used on ceremonial occasions as a symbol of peace between individuals. It was the tobacco and not the pipe, *opwagan*, which was the significant thing of these occasions. The tobacco contained magical powers, which enabled the Chippewa to make offerings to the spirits. The stems were very important and some were as long as three feet. Many would be decorated with inlaid materials and eagle feathers. For everyday smoking a small pipe was used with a small stem.[13]

The Chippewa dressed simply, the materials used usually being animal hides. A woman's dress, *matchigoden* or *godass*, was made by simply sewing two deer hides together in which a hole was left for the neck. Seams were sewed across to shelter the shoulders and a belt was worn about the waist. Usually a woman wore knee-length leggings and moccasins, made of deerhide.

A man wore a breech cloth, thigh high leggings and moccasins. In winter rabbit's-fur coats provided warmth for both the men and women. Thread could be made from the sinews found along the backbones of deer and moose. Most women had a sewing bag packed with the needed items.

Chippewa moccasins, *makisinan*, were characterized by puckered seams, and some historians feel that the word "Ojibwa" is a corruption of the tribal word for "puckered." The deerskin moccasins were lined with muskrat or rabbit fur in the winter. Often the moccasins were decorated with floral patterns using moose hair, porcupine quills, and later, beads.

The Chippewa made great use of ornamental finery such as necklaces, earrings, sashes, leggings and head pieces. These were especially displayed on ceremonial occasions. A man would often paint his face and braid his hair and even decorate his hair as it was a source of pride.

The Chippewa were an artistically inclined people and they decorated many of the objects they used daily. Two basic patterns were used, one of straight lines and the other of floral design. Moosehair, porcupine quills, and vegetable dyes were used in decorating the objects. When the white traders came, the Indians readily used the trade beads for embroidery. In the past three hundred years their beadwork has become famous.[14]

Pictographs and rock paintings are a fascinating form of ancient Chippewa art. These drawings can still be found in sheltered places or on rocks which hang out over the water. The paintings are always red and depict the objects which the Indian people saw about them, such as birds, people, and the sun and moon. No one is sure but they probably were associated with religious symbolism and possibly were a record of dreams.[15]

The Chippewa did not try to control their environment but they surely knew their environment. They knew the woods and made the most of the materials around them.

The author suggests that the teacher refer to Lyford's *Ojibwa Crafts* for an excellent summary of Chippewa art and craft work. Hilger's *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background* surveys all phases of the life patterns of the early Chippewa.

Religion and Supernatural Powers

The supernatural world has been encountered in every phase of the Chippewa's life described thus far. This aspect of the Indian's life was vital and showed that it was an important part of their adjustment to their environment. The Chippewa adapted well to their environment, but the ability to survive was not enough. The future also had to be assured. The Chippewa had to know things outside of the control of man but under the control of the spirits. Only the spirits could bring any certainty to the future.

The Chippewa felt that a number of spirits governed their world. A great supreme being, *Gitchi Manitou*, was very powerful but did not intervene directly. He assigned powers to lesser spirits who would act for him. There were many lesser spirits found in the forests, the water, the sky and in many inanimate objects. The Chippewa could contact these spirits in a number of ways and the most important way was through dreams. Dreams were very important and a child was impressed with their importance throughout his childhood. The child would not possess a spirit until he had a dream, and the spirit would appear as a bird or animal, and this revelation would be a profound experience which the child would remember all of his life. This usually occurred as the child reached maturity.[16]

Dreams were encouraged by fasting. Children would tell their parents of dreams they had, and the parents would note any that were unusual or had something to do with birds and animals. If a pattern appeared, then it was a sign that the dreamer's guardian spirit was revealing itself. When the child was sure of the spirit he would find such a bird or animal and obtain some part of it, (feather, etc.), place it in a pouch and hide it in a secret place, to be used only when he needed spirit power to accomplish a certain task.

The spiritual life of the Chippewa centered around the *Midéwiwin*, or the Grand Medicine Society. Sickness was thought to be the work of evil spirits, so medical practice was associated with the supernatural. Health was a necessity and someone from each family needed to know something about medicine and curing of disease. This society can be thought of as being Minnesota's first medical society. Its aim was the safe-guarding and prolonging of human life. Two ways of achieving this aim were believed possible by the Chippewa; one was through a good knowledge of herbs and their medical uses, and the other was through good conduct.[17]

Members had to observe a strict code. Ceremonies were held in the spring when family groups gathered together in the sugar bush encampments. There were two ways of becoming a member of the secret society. One was to be cured by a member of the society, and the other was by means of a dream in which the guardian spirit suggested to the dreamer that he apply for membership in the society. He would then hold a feast at which a *Midé* priest would be invited. If the priest was pleased he would tell the dreamer the next step, usually gathering of offerings which would be used as presents during the initiation ceremony. At the next *Midé* rites he would be inducted and when his fees were paid he would then learn medical knowledge.

The Grand Medicine Society had at least four degrees of membership. Through this knowledge the Chippewa had a remarkable knowledge of the herbs and their medical values. They knew the best time to gather the herbs for maximum potency. Supposedly the Chippewa knew of over four hundred species of plants.[18]

The ceremonies were held in a large mat-covered lodge. Built in a clearing, it was from 100 to 200 feet long and from 13 to 30 feet wide, and from 7 to 10 feet high. It was a long wigwam sometimes covered with sheets of birchbark. The ceremony usually lasted four days. It began with a sweat bath in a small sweat lodge erected near the large ceremonial lodge. Much as in a sauna bath, the member would bathe until he couldn't stand it and then would run to the nearest lake or stream to cool off.

The *Midé* songs telling the traditional history of the tribe were preserved on birchbark charts or scrolls. Principles of ethical conduct were a part of the teaching of this secret society. Meetings were held once a year in the large lodge to perform the initiatory and healing rites which the priests carried out. The rites of *Midéwiwin* blended the natural and the supernatural in that the members learned the practical knowledge of cures to restore health, while the supernatural took the practice of medicine beyond its practical aims by giving immortality.

There were other "doctors" who possessed "powers," who acted independently of the *Midé* society. These men, known as *shamans*, were very observant and could diagnose an illness quickly and come up with a cure (or with the claim that the evil spirits had power over the victim). Training to be a *shaman* usually came from a relative who was one. *Shamans* performed the most spectacular feats of any of the priests. The "shaking tent" ritual became famous as a method for finding a cure for sickness. Even today the world has little knowledge of the activities of this society.[19]

MINNESOTA'S CHIPPEWA IN THE MODERN WORLD

The official spokeman for the majority of the Minnesota Chippewa outside the Red Lake Band is the Tribal Executive Committee of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. The constitution of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe is established to conserve and to develop tribal resources; to promote the general welfare of the members; and to preserve and maintain justice for its members. The tribe is organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The tribally-owned lands and tribal business are handled by a twelve man Tribal Executive Committee of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. This committee has the responsibility for setting qualifications for enrollment in the tribe; for approval of the tribal rolls; for conducting elections; for management of tribal affairs; for negotiations with the Federal, state, and local governments on behalf of the tribe; for employment of legal counsel for the protection and advancement of the rights of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe; for prevention of distribution of tribal lands without tribal consent; and for organization and regulation of tribal members for ecomomic purposes.

The membership of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe is composed of all Chippewa Indians on the tribal rolls except the Red Lake Band. The Tribe consists of the Chippewa bands residing on the Bois Forte (Nett Lake), Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, and White Earth reservations. The Tribal Executive Committee is composed of the Chairmen and Secretary-Treasurer of each of the member bands for a total of twelve committee members who in turn elect a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer and employ a business manager. Regular tribal meetings are held every three months. Headquarters of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe are located in the Federal Building in Bemidji. Each band may govern itself in local matters and many local matters may be aired by the local reservation business committees and can be brought to the attention of the Tribal Executive Committee or to the Bureau of Indian Affairs where special attention may be given to them.

In practice, self-government of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe has been successful. The Bureau of Indian Affairs exercises the final decision on matters pertaining to the tribe and often these decisions have not been in agreement with the desires of Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. The Tribe feels that it should have more control and the Bureau has felt that the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe needs Federal assistance. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe is continuously striving for improvement of living conditions on the reservations, the development of reservations' resources, and the economic independence of its people. The Tribal Executive Committee is the official voice of the Minnesota Chippewa

Tribe and is making itself heard on behalf of its people, as do the officers of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians, in speaking for that group.

Minnesota’s Chippewa

The Chippewa Indians comprise Minnesota’s largest minority group. Most of the Chippewa people live in the northern part of the state, and are located primarily in thirteen counties: Aitkin, Becker, Beltrami, Carlton, Cass, Clearwater, Cook, Itasca, Koochiching, Mahnomen, Mille Lacs, Pine, and St. Louis. Urban Indians mostly reside in Ramsey, Hennepin, St. Louis, and Washington counties. Ninety-seven per cent of the Indian population in Minnesota is Chippewa; most of the remainder are Sioux.

There is no standardized definition of an Indian. Usually an Indian is identified as such if he is a duly enrolled member of a recognized band or tribe of Indians. Many Indians are enrolled in an Indian agency and maintain no other tribal connection, it being to their advantage to be enrolled in an Indian agency in order to be eligible for benefits arising from federal legislation in the past or future. The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe recently brought their rolls up-to-date.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has depended largely upon the degree of Indian ancestry in arriving at a definition of an Indian. Usually it is common practice to exclude individuals of less than one-quarter Indian ancestry. The Indian population of the reservations and the correct quantum of Indian "blood" of each member is recorded on the tribal roll at the Minnesota Indian Agency in Bemidji.

Under Minnesota’s reservation system the government has set aside a relatively small tract of land from larger areas originally owned by the Indians. Because it was "reserved," it became known as a reservation. Today the term "reservation" refers to areas of land which are subject to some degree of administration by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and which have a population of predominantly Indian people. The General Allotment Act of 1887 made it possible for some tracts of previously reserved land or water to be owned by Indians themselves as individuals thereby breaking up most reservations. The government of the United States considered it necessary to establish the reservation system in order to avoid disputes in regard to boundaries of Indian and non-Indian owned lands, to provide Indians with homes, and to bring the Indians more easily under federal control.

The Minnesota Indian Agency in Bemidji has jurisdiction and supervisory management of the Bois Forte (Nett Lake), Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, and White Earth reservations (and also four Sioux reservations in southern Minnesota). These Chippewa reservations were organized as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. "Organized" is a term used to designate an Indian band or tribe that has adopted a constitution under the Indian Reorganization Act. It may have an informal governing body or a Reservation Business Committee. The Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians are a separately organized band and live on a "closed" reservation in Minnesota under a separate Indian Agency. A closed reservation was not opened to homestead settlement. The Red Lake reservation has not generally been opened to white settlement nor has its land been allotted to individual Indians. The entire reservation remains in tribal ownership, except for some holdings in the village of Redby.

An allotted reservation has had some of the land divided for allotment to individual Indians who then sometimes disposed of it as they wished after a given time. Each reservation comprising the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe also organized and adopted an individual charter of organization. The governing body of each reservation is known as the Reservation Business Committee.

Sketch of Individual Reservations

Each Chippewa reservation is under the administration of the Minnesota Indian Agency, except Red Lake. This agency comes under the Minneapolis Area Office of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. Unemployment and underemployment are problems on all of Minnesota's reservations. Income levels are below state and national levels. However, each reservation is very different from the others. Development and present ownership of the reservations vary. The reservations are located on some of the most beautiful and historically significant country in our state. Resources and development plans vary from one reservation to another, but all consider their natural resources vital in any planning.

Bois Forte (Nett Lake) Indian Reservation

The Nett Lake Indian Reservation is in Northeast Minnesota, some 40 miles south of the Canadian border, in Koochiching and St. Louis Counties. Nett Lake Indians and those of the Lake Vermillion Reservation near Tower belong to the same band and their holdings are treated as one unit. Nett Lake is quite isulated, being 80 miles north of the Mesabi Iron Range. The nearest off-reservation town is Orr, a distance of 20 miles. Cook is 50 miles southeast of Nett Lake and International Falls is 55 miles to the north of the reservation.

The Bois Forte Indian Reservation was established in 1866 by a treaty with the United States government. Most of the land has passed from Indian ownership. Today there are 42,409 acres of Indian owned land on the reservation, with 30,034 acres being tribally owned and 12,375 being individual allotment acres. Included in the tribal land is 1,069 acres located on Lake Vermillion about ten miles southwest of Tower. Thirty-nine per cent of the reservation is Indian owned. There are 385 people living at Nett Lake mostly in or near the village of Nett Lake. About 75 people live at Vermillion Lake.

Most of the land is classed as forest land and about 3,000,000 board feet of timber are cut annually. There are numerous lakes and swamps throughout the reservation. Nett Lake is famous for its wild rice production and good duck hunting. High quality wild rice is produced from the reservation which has a wild rice committee to control and organize the harvest each fall. Some small processing plants provide jobs during the ricing season. Lack of employment on the reservation forces many to seek jobs off the reservation. Most income on the reservation is derived from the sale of wild rice, timber sales, trapping and guiding.

The Community Action Program is active on the reservation and includes a Headstart program, work experience programs and Neighborhood Youth Corps. Twenty-five new homes have recently been completed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the United States Public Health Service has recently provided Nett Lake's first community water and sewer system.

Fond du Lac Indian Reservation

The Fond du Lac Indian Reservation is located near Cloquet, Minnesota, about fifteen miles west of Duluth. It is situated in St. Louis and Carlton Counties. Chippewa Indians settled in the area after the French explorer, Daniel Greysolon Sieur Dulhut, reached Fond du Lac in 1679. Later Fond du Lac village became an important fur trading post and outlet for the portaging of goods from Lake Superior to the Mississippi River via the St. Louis River. The reservation was established in 1854 by a treaty with the United States Government. Much of the land within the reservation boundaries has passed from Indian ownership.

Today there remains a total of 21,366 acres of Indian land. Of this 3,973 acres are tribal lands and 17,393 acres are individual Indian allotments. Fifty-two per cent of the reservation is Indian owned and most of their land, over 19,000 acres, is classed as forest land. The rest of the land is considered residential, agricultural, and recreational in nature.

The Fond du Lac Reservation has over 1,480 members listed on the tribal roll. About 744 of these live on reservation land, while over 200 live nearby. The reservation is unique as it is near the large industrial centers of Cloquet and Duluth. Many of its members work in the forest products plants in Cloquet so the reservation is economically and geographically linked to this city. Most of the reservation residents live in the communities of Brookston, Sawyer, Carlton and Cloquet.

The Community Action Program under the leadership of the Reservation Business Committee has been active since 1964. A community building was renovated from the old Indian Hospital building with the help of many people and organizations and now serves the people of the reservation as a community center and a center for the Community Action Program activities. Home improvement education and housing projects are components of the program that have been carried out as well as projects concerning adult education, health, rehabilitation, and social relationships.

Grand Portage Indian Reservation

The Grand Portage Indian Reservation is located in the extreme northeast corner of Minnesota, approximately 150 miles northeast of Duluth, in Cook County. The reservation was established in 1854 by a treaty with the United States government. Located adjacent to the

North Shore of Lake Superior and the Canadian border, Grand Portage lays claim to being the oldest community in Minnesota, having been an important fur trading center during the late 1700's and early 1800's.

Today there are 24,635 acres of land belonging to the Grand Portage Band, 12,162 acres of tribal land, and 7,762 acres of allotted land. Seventy-six per cent of the reservation is Indian owned. Only about 175 of the approximately 460 members listed on the tribal roll live on the reservation. About 75 members live in the village of Grand Marais which is 37 miles from Grand Portage village. The reservation is located on one of the most scenic settings on the Lake Superior shoreline. The Grand Portage National Monument is located on land given by the band and includes a reconstructed stockade and museum. This recognition gives prominence to the role that Grand Portage played during the fur trading days, and because it is located upon the Lake Superior Great Circle Route promises to become well known to tourists in the near future.

The people receive their income from timber work, trapping, construction work, guiding, commercial fishing, the National Monument, Bureau of Indian Affairs programs, the local trading post and the current Community Action Program. The Reservation Business Committee is spearheading new programs to utilize the abundant natural resources on the reservation. This includes timber operations, developmental programs, housing, and development of the tourist trade.

Leech Lake Indian Reservation

The boundaries of the Leech Lake Indian Reservation coincide largely with that of the Chippewa National Forest. It is located in North Central Minnesota in the heart of lake country just west of the Mesabi Iron Range in Cass, Itasca, and Beltrami Counties. Leech Lake, Cass Lake and Lake Winnibigoshish constitute prominent portions of the reservation. Leech Lake Indians own only nineteen per cent of the reservation land. The reservation includes 27,211 Indian owned acres, 13,971 owned by the tribe and 13,240 owned by individual allotments.

The reservation is completely "checkerboarded" with Indian lands scattered among non-Indian holdings and within the Chippewa National Forest. Major concentrations of Chippewa live in the communities of Ball Club, Bena, Inger, Cass Lake, Squaw Lake, Deer River, Federal Dam, and Onigum. The reservation was established in 1855 by a treaty with the United States government. There are about 2,810 persons on the Leech Lake rolls and some 2,350 of these live on the reservation and about 400 live nearby.

Timber work makes up the major part of the livelihood for the residents. Other sources of income include work in the iron ore mines, on railroads, road jobs, tourism and the harvesting of wild rice, blueberries and maple sap. The Community Action Program is very active on the Leech Lake Reservation also and many projects are being carried out for the benefit of reservation residents. These include a Headstart program, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and work experience programs with a staff of over 100 people.

Mille Lacs Indian Reservation

The smallest of the Chippewa reservations in Minnesota is that of Mille Lacs, located about 100 miles north of Minneapolis. This small reservation in east central Minnesota is located in Aitkin, Mille Lacs and Pine Counties. The Mille Lacs Reservation was established in 1855 by a treaty with the United States government.

Most of the land has passed from Indian ownership on this reservation. Only 67 acres remain in allotted lands and 3,531 acres are tribally owned. Most of the land is forest land, recreational or residential. There are about 500 Indians living on Mille Lacs Reservation. Over 300 live nearby. The major Indian community is at Vineland where most of the Indian people reside. Smaller groups live near the village of Isle and near Lake Lena.

Like Grand Portage, Mille Lacs is situated on historically significant grounds. The reservation was the scene of an important battle between the Sioux and Chippewa that marked the end of the Sioux claims to dominate the forested lands of Minnesota. The Minnesota Historical Society operates a museum on the reservation on highway U.S. 169.

Logging and timbering, small income from birch bark souvenirs, summer resort jobs and guiding for tourists are sources of income on the reservation.

A new housing program has provided some jobs for the Mille Lacs people. The Community Action Program was implemented on the reservation in 1964. Most of the Community Action Program activities already mentioned concerning other reservations are in operation on the Mille Lacs Reservation.

Red Lake Indian Reservation

The Red Lake Indian Reservation is unique among Minnesota Chippewa reservations because it was never ceded by treaty to the United States. The Red Lake Band was the first group to organize in Minnesota under a written constitution. This was done in 1918 when a General Council was established as the governing body. Unlike the other Chippewa bands, the Red Lake Band did not accept the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Red Lake is a closed reservation and therefore was not open to homestead entries and the land has not been allotted to individual Indians. The entire area remains in tribal ownership.

The Indians of Red Lake are locally governed by an eleven man Tribal Council elected to four year terms of office. The Tribal Council is the legislative body of the Band and operates under a constitution and by-laws approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The Superintendent of the reservation is a Bureau of Indian Affairs Line Officer.

The Community Action Program, the Public Health Service Hospital, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Sub-Agency and the reservation's public school system furnish employment to many people at Red Lake.

Since the Red Lake Reservation is in tribal ownership, the land is somewhat exempt from state and county jurisdiction. The Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians have their own tribal court, their own police force, and their own legislative body in the form of a Tribal Council.

The Red Lake Indian Reservation is located in North Central Minnesota in Beltrami and Clearwater Counties. It consists of 564,409 tribally owned acres of land. The band also owns scattered tracts of land extending up to the Canadian border and includes some of the Northwest Angle amounting to over 157,000 additional acres. The total area is about the size of Rhode Island. The land encloses Lower Red and part of Upper Red Lakes. This vast body of water is the third largest fresh water lake within the boundaries of the United States. All of the land is held communally by the Red Lake Band and is held in trust by the United States government. Individual members may apply for land use permits for homesites and agricultural purposes. A 1964 study showed 4,663 members on the rolls and over 3,200 people living on the reservation. The majority of the people live in the villages of Redlake, Redby and Ponemah.

The economy of the reservation is based on the utilization of the vast timber holdings of the Band and the manufacture of the timber into usable wood products. The Band owns and operates a large sawmill in the village of Redby. This sawmill first began operation in the late 19th century and recently a new electric automated mill was built to handle all of the types of timber and to facilitate industries such as furniture manufacturing to locate on the reservation.

The Red Lake Fisheries Association has been in operation for over 30 years. This industry produces fish that are sent elswhere for processing and is managed on the sustained yield basis which is expected to be important to the economy of Red Lake for years to come.

The band has reclaimed over 9,000 acres of wasteland which is now suitable for the progapation of wild rice and trapping and duck hunting. State and Federal programs have established an arts and crafts training course and a store building is now set up as an outlet for the finished products.

White Earth Indian Reservation

The White Earth Indian Reservation is in Western Minnesota, principally in Mahnomen County, but includes small portions of Becker and Clearwater Counties. The western boundary of the reservation reaches to within 40 miles of the North Dakota State line. The villages of the White Earth Reservation are Naytahwaush, White Earth, Ponsford, Mahnomen, Waubun, Ogema and Callaway. More than 2,600 people live on the reservation, however the tribal roll carries over 11,230 names.

The White Earth Indian Reservation was established in 1867 by a treaty with the United States government. Much of the land has passed from Indian ownership. Only eight per cent of the reservation land is owned by Indian people. Of the remaining lands, 25,381 acres are tribally owned and 1,992 acres are individual allotted lands. There are also 28,610 acres which are "submarginal lands" purchased by the Resettlement Administration of the Department of Agriculture and later sold to the Farm Security Administration Program for use by Indians. Approximately seventy per cent of the land is forest with the balance suitable for farming, homesite or other uses. This reservation, too, is checkerboarded with non-Indian holdings.

Work generally available to White Earth residents includes farm labor, timber cutting and processing, building and road construction, resort help and the harvesting of wild rice. There is some dairying and farming in the western section of the reservation. The reservation is good tourist land. A cooperative venture on the part of Becker County and the Tamarac National Wildlife Refuge at Rochert, Minnesota provides jobs for over 40 men who improve the Refuge.

The Community Action Program is also active on this reservation. Its many components - the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Headstart program, a small Business Development Center, and work experience programs are providing many with training and jobs.

Indian Population

Minnesota's Indian population is probably around 22,000 with about 7,000 now living in the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth areas. There are at least 11,600 Chippewa in the northern part of Minnesota on or very near reservations. Probably another 3,000 or so are scattered elsewhere. Perhaps the most significant development as far as Chippewa population is concerned is the rapid increase in migration to major cities in the state. For a comparison, the 1960 census showed Beltrami County to have an Indian population of 2,949. (Beltrami County has the largest concentration of Indians in Minnesota.) In 1950 Minneapolis listed only 426 Indians in its census figures but by 1960 there were 2,077 in the city and 2,391 in Hennepin County. St. Paul and Duluth have lower total numbers but their increase in recent years has also been spectacular.

It must be remembered that population figures are generally open to question. It is difficult to determine the number of families who leave the reservations for the cities to look for employment, become disillusioned and shortly return to the reservation. Many become assimilated into the non-Indian culture and there can be no valid estimate as to the number lost as a separate racial entity in this manner. (Indian service organizations estimate that the total number of Indians in Hennepin County is more nearly 5,000 with Ramsey County (St. Paul) having over 2,000 Indian people.)

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING ACTIVITIES

In addition to standard teaching procedures, such as reading, class discussion, viewing films, etc., the imaginative teacher will find ways to take advantage of the fact that a study of Minnesota's Chippewa can involve many resources of local importance. Think of other possibilities to add to the list below.

1. Compile lists of misconceptions which pupils may have concerning Indians; use them as bases for further investigation.
2. Map work: pupil-made maps of Minnesota reservations; of lands ceded by major treaties with the Chippewa; of important battle sites.
3. Compare ways in which the Chippewa and white man respectively responded or adapted to their natural environment in housing, food, clothing, travel, warfare, attitudes toward nature, fuel, domestication of animals, types of tools, etc.
4. Compare the Red Lake Reservation with those of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Are there apparent differences? Which appears to be making greater strides?
5. Obtain copies of treaties and congressional actions affecting the Chippewa. Study them from the Indian point of view. Were they fair? Have they proved helpful or harmful to Chippewa people?
6. Field trips: tribal headquarters and B.I.A. offices in Bemidji; nearest reservation headquarters, C.A.P. Operations, and other sites of interest; state, county and local museums containing Indian articles.
7. Resource speakers: leaders of local bands; craftsmen to demonstrate their Indian craft work; representatives of state or local Indian organizations; an elderly person to speak of early days.
8. Correspondence with individuals or agencies on various reservations.
9. Role-playing or dramatic skits about early Chippewa family life, discussions of treaty proposals, problems of modern Indians, or authentic legends.
10. Vocabulary: note the many Chippewa place names in Minnesota; inquire about meanings; learn a few simple Chippewa (Ojibwa) words.
11. Creative writing: stories of Indians, past or present, faced with dangerous situations or difficult decisions.
12. Drawings or construction of models: wigwam, canoe, trading post, bow and arrows, birchbark containers, drums, ceremonial dress, a village scene, gathering wild rice or making maple sugar, talking with treaty makers.
13. Construct a time line recording historic events in Chippewa life.
14. Invite visits from children of nearest school with majority of Indian pupils.
15. Debate current controversial questions: termination of reservations; Indian hunting and fishing rights; fair employment and housing opportunities.

ANNOTED LIST OF SELECTED TEACHING MATERIALS

These listings have been carefully selected from a much longer list of materials. The children's books are classified on the basis of general coverage on Indians versus specifically Chippewa interest. The first classification is further grouped to indicate fiction and non-fiction. Books for teachers and other adults are not included in this resource unit but may be found in the bibliography at the end of the handbook.

Most of the listed sources of materials have their own catalogs and price lists available on request.

Children's Books: general, non-fiction

1. Brewster, Benjamin, *The First Book of Indians*, New York: Franklin Watts, Incorporated, 1963.
   Describes how the Indians once lived and how they created their own culture. A contrasting picture is presented with today's Indian life. Grades 4-6.
2. Elting, Mary and Folsom, Franklin, *The Story of Archaeology in the Americas*, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York: Harvey House, Incorporated, 1960.
   Stories of recent archaeological discoveries in North and South America and of how young archaeologists may participate in diggings near their homes. Grades 4-7.
3, Glubok, Shirley, *The Art of the North American Indian*, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964.
   A treatment of the full range of American Indian art. Many photos give interest to a young reader.
4. Grand, Bruce, *American Indians: Yesterday and Today*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1958.
   An alphabetically arranged encyclopedia designed as a reference and history. Each entry is compact and describes the lore, legends, history, beliefs, food, customs, and the characteristics of all known tribes. Some biographies of Indian leaders and chiefs are included. Many references to the place locations in America that have Indian names.
5. Heuman, William, *The Indians of Carlisle*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965.
   The fascinating story of Carlisle Industrial School which was created to prepare American Indians to survive in a white man's world by teaching them trades as well as scholastic subjects. Grades 4-8.
6. Hofsinde, Robert, *Indian Beadwork*, New York: William Morrow and Company, Incorporated, 1961.
   The history of Indian beadwork. Includes instructions and diagrams for making and decorating many items. Grades 5-8.
7. Hofsinde, Robert, *Indian Games and Crafts*, William Morrow and Company, Incorporated, 1957.
   A book of instructions showing how to make equipment for twelve different Indian games and how to play them. Grades 5-8.

8. Holling, Holling C., Book of Indians, New York: Platt and Munk Incorporated, 1962.

   A presentation of the North American Indian's daily life. Grades 3-6.

9. Hunt, W. Ben, The Golden Book of Indian Crafts and Lore, New York: The Golden Press, Incorporated, 1954.

   One of the best craft and lore books available. Excellent directions for performing ritual dances and other information. Easy directions showing how to make many Indian craft items. Grades 5-7.

10. LaFarge, Oliver, The American Indians, New York: Golden Press, 1960.

    A complete and valuable history for children of the Indians in North America. Excellent resource book.

11. Leavitt, Jerome, America and Its Indians, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, Incorporated, 1962.

    Coast to coast review of the distinctive features of American Indian culture. Food, clothing, crafts, customs, forms of government, social life, and religion from the prehistoric times to the present. Grades 3-6.

12. Pine, Tillie S., The Indians Knew, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957.

    Tells how the Indians of America used numerous concepts which are basic in many of man's recent scientific and technological accomplishments. Has a simple experiment for young children. Grades 2-5.

13. Schoor, Gene, The Jim Thorpe Story: America's Greatest Athlete, New York: Julian Messner, 1958.

    The life story of Jim Thorpe, descendent of the famed Indian Chief, Black Hawk. Thorpe was a famous all-American athlete. Grades 5 and up.

14. Seibert, Jerry, Sacagawea: Guide to Lewis and Clark, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960.

    A story about the Shoshoni girl and her important role in the success of the Lewis and Clark expedition. For teen-agers.

15. Thompson, Hildegard, Getting to Know American Indians Today, New York: Coward-McCann, 1966.

    Includes detailed examples of modern Navaho life but other tribes (including Chippewa) are mentioned and prominent contemporary Indians are also described.

Children's Books: general, fiction

1. Arnold, Elliott, Broken Arrow, Des Moines, Iowa: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1954.

   The story of Cochise, an Apache Chief, and an American scout, Tom Jeffords, who developed a friendship which led them to become blood brothers. Grades 6-9.

2. Baker, Betty, The Shaman's Last Raid, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1958.

   Great-Grandfather visits a pair of twins and a TV company comes to shoot an Indian picture at the same time. Hilarious complications arise in this story about a modern day Apache family. Grades 3-7.

3. Benchley, Nathaniel, Red Fox and His Canoe, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964.

   Red Fox finds that having one of the world's largest canoes has its disadvantages when half the forest animals feel they can ride along. Grades 1-3.

4. Bulla, Clyde, Eagle Feather, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953.

   The story of a modern Navaho Indian boy's love for his family and his hogan, and of his experiences in the white man's school for Indian children. Grades 2-5.

5. Carlson, Natalie S., The Tomahawk Family, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1960.

   A brother and sister discover what it is like to lead both the traditional life and the modern American one.

6. Coatsworth, Elizabeth, Indian Encounters, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960.

   An anthology of Indian stories and poems by a renowned author of Indian stories and life. Grades 5-8.

7. Dalgiesh, Alice, The Courage of Sarah Noble, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954.

   True story of Sarah Noble, who lived in colonial Connecticut, who goes with her father to build a home in the wilderness. She stays with some Indian people while her father goes after the rest of the family. Grades K-4.

8. Fuller, Iola, The Loon Feather, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated, 1940.

   Tecumseh's daughter is adopted by a French couple. This story tells of her attempts to absorb the best of the white man's world while maintaining the best of her Indian heritage. Excellent for Grades 7-8.

9. Graff, Polly Ann, Squanto: Indian Adventurer, Champaign, Illinois: Garrard Publishing Company, 1965.

   The aid of Squanto rendered to the first English settlers is the setting of this story. Grades 3-6.

10. Hood, Flora Mae, Something for the Medicine Man, Chicago: Melmont Publishers, Incorporated, 1962.

    A Cherokee girl of the modern world has to decide what her contribution will be when she and her classmates are asked to bring a gift for an ailing medicine man. Grades 3-5.

11. Jarvis, Eloise, Moccasin Trail, New York: Coward-McCann, Incorporated, 1952.

    A trapper is left to die after a battle with a grizzly, and is found by the Crow Indians. He knows no other life until he gets a letter from his brother. Grades 7–8.

12. Larom, Henry, Ride Like an Indian, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962.

    A boy spends a summer on a dude ranch and learns from an Indian boy how to train his pony to run with the swiftest horses.

13. Lisitsky, Gene, Four Ways of Being Human, New York: The Viking Press, 1956.

    An introduction to Anthropology. Describes four tribes living in various lands and climates, and demonstrates the way mankind develops cultures to make use of the environment. Grades 10-12.

14. Malkus, Alida, There Really was a Hiawatha, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1963.

    The life of the 16th century American Indian whose ideals influenced the United States Constitution and earned him God-like recognition among his people. Grades 5–8.

15. Montgomery, Rutherford, The Capture of West Wind, Des Moines, Iowa: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1962.

    This book presents the author's idea of how the first Indian caught and rode a horse. Grades 4-6.

16. Ressler, Theodore, Treasury of American Indian Tales, New York: Association Press, 1957.

    Forty-four short stories of twenty Indian tribes, describing their life and character. Grades 3-6.

17. Steele, William O., Wayah of the Real People, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Incorporated, 1964.

    A young Cherokee attends a white man's school where he must strive to remain true to his heritage. Excellent. Grades 4-8.

18. Steele, William O., Flaming Arrows, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated, 1957.

    This story revolves around the fallacy in blaming a son for his father's wrongdoing.

19. Stevenson, Augusta, Sitting Bull: Dakota Boy, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1959.

    Young Jumping Badger felt that living was an adventure, and each day brought new learnings which he would use in his later life.

20. Stiles, Martha B., One Among the Indians, New York: The Dial Press, 1962.

    Describes the grueling tests that each young Indian boy facing manhood must deal with. Grades 5-8.

21. Underhill, Ruth M., Antelope Singer, New York: Coward-McCann, Incorporated, 1961.

    The story of a family's adventures as they travel to California by covered wagon, and their friendship with the Paiute Indian Tribe. Grades 3-7.

Children's Books: Chippewa Indians

1. Bleeker, Sonia, *The Chippewa Indians: Wild Rice Gatherers of the Great Lakes*, New York: William Morrow and Company, Incorporated, 1955.

   Excellent look at the tribal way of life of a Chippewa family before the coming of the white man. Grades 4–6.
2. Coleman, Sister Bernard, *Eagle Wing*, New York: Greenwich Book Publishers, Incorporated.

   The story of the Chippewa Indians before the contact with the white man, as told by a young member of the tribe. The story takes place in the Mille Lacs Reservation area. Excellent. Grades 2–5.
3. Deming, Alden O., *Manabozho: The Indian Story of Hiawatha*, Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company, Publishers, 1938.

   Stories taken from the explorer Schoolcraft's works. All relate to the life and acts of a single character called Manabozho. Grades 4–8.
4. Garden, Priscilla, *Young Brave Algonquian*, New York: Little Brown and Company, 1956.

   Good description of the Algonquian tribes during the 1650's. Grades 4–6.
5. Hall, Gordon L., *Peter Jumping Horse*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Incorporated, 1962.

   Hilarious incidents occur as the Jumping Horse family attend the famous Calgary "Stampede" and rodeo. Grandmother provides much of the excitement. Grades 3–7.
6. Holling, Holling C., *Claws of the Thunderbird*, New York: P.E. Volland Company, 1928.

   This story takes place on the North Shore of Lake Superior. Deals with a family's struggles with nature and the Sioux. Brings in much consideration of the spirit world. Grades 4–7.
7. Israel, Marion, *Ojibwa*, Chicago: Melmont Publishers, 1962.

   An excellent description of the life and times of the Chippewa before the coming of the white man. Third grade reading level. Interest level from grades 2–6.
8. Jenks, Albert E., *The Childhood of Ji-shib, the Ojibwa*, Chicago: Atkinson, Mentzer and Grover, Publishers, 1900.

   Chippewa child's young life excellently told from birth to manhood. Grades 5–7.
9. Smucker, Barbara C., *Wigwam in the City*, New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated, 1966.

Films

The following films are available from the Audio-Visual Extension Services Department, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. These films usually have a small rental fee.

1. American Indians Before European Settlement
   1 reel fee—$1.75
   Survey of Indian life before the coming of the white man. Deals with many areas of life and with various tribes.
2. American Indians of Today
   1½ reels, fee—$2.25
   This film tells of the achievements and problems of American Indians in a variety of situations. It also analyzes current trends that are shaping the future of the American Indians.
3. Loon's Necklace
   1 reel, fee—$3.00
   An Indian legend brought to life about a loon and how it got its distinguishing neckband.
4. Mahnomen—Harvest of the North
   2 reels, fee—$3.00
   This film tells the story of the wild rice. Tells especially well the techniques used by the Chippewa Indians in harvesting and processing, plus the purchasing of the rice by the buyers and modern processing operations.
5. Modern Chippewa Indians
   1 reel, fee—$3.00
   A reasonably fair picture of the Chippewa produced a few years ago. Produced on a Chippewa reservation.
6. Sisibakwat—The Ojibwa Maple Harvest
   2 reels, fee—$6.00
   This film presents the story of the Chippewa Indians and their first maple sugar harvest of the year. Shows the entire process in an excellent manner.
7. The Tree is Dead
   1 reel, fee—$1.75
   Photographed on the Red Lake Indian Reservation. Shows the decline of the Indian culture.
8. Woodland Indians of Early America
   1 reel, fee—$1.75
   The daily life of the Chippewa family is observed in this film. The activities are authentically reproduced in this look at Woodland Indians before the coming of the white man.
9. Indian Influences in the United States
   1 reel, fee—$3.00
   This film surveys the contributions of the Americans to modern American culture. Excellent portrayal of Indian gifts to America.

The following films can be obtained from the Film Department of the Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

1. Chippewa Handicraft
   1 reel
   Good look at some of the handiwork of the Chippewa Indian.
2. Wild Rice Harvest
   1 reel
   Adequate study of the harvesting of wild rice.

Slides

1. How to Make A Chippewa Birchbark Canoe
   A set of twenty-three slides which present a very good idea of how a canoe is constructed.
   Order from: Gopher Historian Office
   Minnesota Historical Society
   St. Paul, Minnesota

Filmstrips

1. The Story of the American Indians
   A set of nine strips covering all areas of the United States. Order from: Eye Gate House, Incorporated
   2716 – 41st Street
   Long Island, New York

Tapes

Order the following tapes from the Audio-Visual Extension Service of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

1. Along the Gunflint Trail
   Some reference to the Indians of this area. Gives a good description of the wilderness in which the early Chippewa lived.
2. Discovering the North Star State
   Some reference to the Indians in Minnesota in the discussion of the history of our state.
3. The 20,000 Year Old Man
   The story of the discovery and significance of the "Minnesota Man."

Map

1. Indians of Minnesota
   Hearne Brothers Co., 1965, Detroit, Michigan

Sources of Craft Supplies

These supplies can be used to make various articles. Beadwork, feathers, buckskins, bells, and all types of craft supplies are available from these dealers. Children enjoy making articles of Indian motif and can do so without much instruction and training.

1. Arts and Science Center
   30 East 10th Street
   St. Paul, Minnesota
2. Chippewayan Authentics

P.O. Box 70
Belcourt, North Dakota

3. Grey Owl Indian Craft Co.
P.O. Box 86W
Jamaica 35, N. Y.
4. Lane Diocesan House
309 Clifton Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota
5. Museo–Sales
1824 Glenview Avenue
Green Bay, Wisconsin
6. Pawnee Bill's Indian Trading Post
Pawnee,
Oklahoma
7. Plume Trading and Sales Company
P. O. Box 585
Monroe, N. Y.
8. Bob J. Voelker
1438 Parcel Post Station
East St. Louis, Missouri

Sources of Other Information and Materials

1. Governor's Human Rights Commission, Minnesota's Indian Citizens, Yesterday and Today. State of Minnesota, 1965. $1.00

   Very usable section on the history of the Indians of Minnesota.

2. Indians of Minnesota, Published by the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota. $ .35

   Reproductions of photographs and paintings showing the two tribes of Minnesota, the Sioux and Chippewa. Excellent for pointing out the differences between the two tribes.

3. Minnesota Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minnesota Indians, Bemidji, Minnesota, 1963.

   Leaflet telling the historical background of Minnesota's Indians and factual information on the present reservations of Minnesota.

4. Minnesota Historical Society, The Indian Tribes of Minnesota: The Chippewa and Sioux, 1962.

   General information sheet telling of the treaties, reservations and gifts of the Indians.

5. Minneapolis Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Principal Indian Lands in the Minneapolis Area.

   8½ by 11 outline map of Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan, showing all Indian lands.

6. Northwoods Art Center, Route No. 1, Minoqua, Wisconsin.

   Posters, charts and reprints of paintings showing Indian leaders, dress, etc.

History of Minnesota's Chippewa

[1] William W. Warren, History of the Ojibway Nation, (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines Incorporated, 1957), p. 56.

[2] Governor's Human Rights Commission, Minnesota's Indian Citizens, (Yesterday and Today), (St. Paul, 1965), p. 3.

[3] Ibid. p. 3.

[4] Carrie A. Lyford, The Crafts of the Ojibwa, (Lawrence, Kansas 1943), p. 13.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Paul H. Raihle, Series on "Chippewa Indians," Mesabi Daily News, (Virginia, Minnesota, September 24, 1955).

[7] Mille Lacs is so named because it is the largest of a number of lakes in the region. Mille Lacs is translated "thousand lakes."

[8] Erwin F. Mittelholtz, Historical Review of the Red Lake Indian Reservation, (Bemidji, Minnesota: Beltrami County Historical Society, 1957).

[9] Ibid.

[10] Warren, op. cit., p. 358-367.

[11] Raihle, op. cit., (September 21, 1955.)

[12] Ibid.

[13] Governor's Interracial Commission of Minnesota, The Indian in Minnesota, (A Report to Governor C. Elmer Anderson, 1952), p. 12.

[14] Most of the information of treaties with the United States was obtained from: Minnesota's Indian Citizens, op. cit., pp. 7-14, 19-28.

[15] There are many spellings for the name of the "Bois Forte" Band. The author will use the spelling as found in the constitution of the Band.

[16] League of Women Voters of Minnesota, Indians in Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1962), pp. 9-15.

[17] Gary Orfield, A Study of the Termination Policy, (Denver, Colorado, National Congress of American Indians, undated).

[18] Minnesota's Indian Citizens; op. cit., pp. 15-17.

Cultural, Social and Organizational Development of the Early Minnesota Chippewa

[1] Emerson S. Coatsworth, The Indians of Quetico, (Torontō, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

[3] N.H. Winchell, The Aborigines of Minnesota, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1911), p. 587.

[4] Coatsworth, op. cit., pp. 14–18.

[5] Winchell, op. cit., p. 592.

[6] Ibid., p. 593.

[7] Coatsworth, op. cit. pp. 21–28

[8] Sister Inez Hilger, Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background, (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institute Bulletin 146, Bureau of American Ethnology, Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 127.

[9] Ibid., pp. 119–125.

[10] Coatsworth, op. cit., pp. 29–30.

[11] Lyford, op. cit. pp. 49–56.

[12] Ibid., p. 32.

[13] Winchell, op. cit., pp. 597–598.

[14] Lyford, op. cit., pp. 107–116.

[15] Selwyn Dewdney and Kenneth E. Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 16.

[16] Coatsworth, op. cit., p. 22.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Hilger, op. cit., pp. 60–75.

[19] Coatsworth, op. cit., pp. 51–53.

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APPENDIX A

ADDRESSES OF SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES SERVING MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA

The following organizations and agencies are concerned in various ways with the Indian in Minnesota.

Federal Government

1. Bureau of Indian Affairs
   1951 Constitution Ave. N.W.
   Washington, D.C. 20242

2. Bureau of Indian Affairs
   Minneapolis Area Office
   1312 West Lake Street
   Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408

3. Bureau of Indian Affairs
   Minnesota Agency
   P.O. Box 489
   Bemidji, Minnesota 56601

4. Bureau of Indian Affairs
   Red Lake Agency
   Redlake, Minnesota 56671

5. U.S. Public Health Service
   Division of Indian Health
   203 Federal Building
   Bemidji, Minnesota 56601

Minnesota

1. American Indian Studies Center
   Bemidji State College
   Bemidji, Minnesota 56601

2. Economic Opportunity Office
   State of Minnesota
   State Office Building
   St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

3. Governor's Commission on Human Rights
   State Office Building
   St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

4. Indian Education
   State Department of Education
   Centennial Building
   St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

5. Indian Education Unit
   State Department of Education
   Minnesota Building
   Bemidji, Minnesota 56601

6. Labor's Committee for Minnesota Indian Youth
   211 Produce Bank Building
   7th Street and 1st Avenue North
   Minneapolis, Minnesota

7. Minnesota Indian Scholarship Committee
   930 Conway Street
   St. Paul, Minnesota 55106

8. Minnesota Commission on Indian Affairs
   State Capitol Building
   St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

9. United Church Committee of Indian Work
   109 East Grant Street
   Minneapolis, Minnesota

10. Upper Midwest Indian Center
    1718 North Third Street
    Minneapolis, Minnesota

State Chippewa Organizations

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe:

1. Minnesota Chippewa Tribe
   Peter Du Fault, Chairman, Tribal Executive Committee
   Fond du Lac Indian Reservation
   Cloquet, Minnesota

2. Paul LeGarde, Chairman
   Reservation Business Committee
   Grand Portage Indian Reservation
   Grand Portage, Minnesota

3. Allen Wilson, Chairman
   Reservation Business Committee
   Leech Lake Indian Reservation
   Ball Club, Minnesota

4. Sam Yankee, Chairman
   Reservation Business Committee
   Mille Lacs Indian Reservation
   McGregor, Minnesota

5. Bernard Martin, Chairman
   Reservation Business Committee
   White Earth Indian Reservation
   White Earth, Minnesota

6. Ira Isham, Chairman
   Reservation Business Committee
   Nett Lake Indian Reservation
   Nett Lake, Minnesota

7. Sherman Dale Smith, Chairman
   Reservation Business Committee
   Fond du Lac Indian Reservation
   Cloquet, Minnesota

8. Howard LaVoy, Tribal Manager
   Tribal Executive Committee
   420 Federal Building
   Bemidji, Minnesota

Red Lake:

1. Roger Jourdain, Chairman
   Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians
   Redlake, Minnesota

National Indian Organizations

These national organizations provide valuable materials and information on a national scale. An interested teacher would benefit from these as well as becoming familiar with Indian viewpoints on a national level.

1. Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.
   475 Riverside Drive
   New York 27, New York

2. Indian Rights Association
   1505 Race Street
   Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

3. National Congress of American Indians
   1765 P. Street N. W.
   Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX B

HIGHER EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

This information has been adapted from written materials supplied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Minnesota State Department of Education. Counselors, Indian students and other interested people should contact Indian Agencies and the Indian Education Guidance Consultant, 410 Minnesota Avenue, Bemidji, Minnesota 56601 for further information and application forms.

Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Oklahoma; Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas

Maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, these schools provide training in a variety of vocations for both men and women. Applicants to Haskell must be high school graduates residing on or near a reservation area and at least one-quarter Indian ancestry.

Institute of American Indian Arts, Sante Fe, New Mexico

Another B.I.A. school, the Institute admits students to grades 10-14 who have a demonstrated interest and ability in one of the arts. The program is general education with emphasis on the arts, both pre-college and post-high school. Applicants must also be at least one-quarter Indian ancestry and enrolled members of a Federally recognized tribe.

Indian School of Practical Nursing, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Operated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, this school provides a 12-month course in practical nursing for Indian women from age 18-30. They must be high school graduates and at least one-quarter Indian ancestry.

Adult Vocational Training Program (Public Law 959)

Provides a wide variety of vocational training possibilities unemployed or under-employed Indians between the ages of 18-35. Financial assistance is available for those who need it during their training. High school graduation is not required but desired. This program is sponsored by the B.I.A.

University of Minnesota, Morris

Eligible Indian students are admitted tuition free and must be high school graduates and at least one-quarter Indian ancestry.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Scholarships

Available to Indian high school graduates on or near a reservation, the size and nature of the scholarship grant is tailored to the particular needs and plans of the applicant. These scholarships may be received, for example, even when attending a tuition-free institution, but not for private colleges.

State of Minnesota Indian Scholarships

These are provided by the state legislature through the State Department of Education for Indian high school graduates of at least one-quarter Indian ancestry who are admissable to an accredited school for almost any sort of academic or vocational program. Size of the grant depends upon the student's need but may not presently exceed $800.

Miscellaneous

Churches, clubs, organizations and individuals often extend direct assistance to deserving Indian students. This is a useful avenue, particularly for those who cannot demonstrate the usual one-quarter blood quantum requirement. Information about these can be obtained from the source mentioned previously.

Needless to say, each institution has a great variety of forms of financial assistance for all students. These are awarded without consideration of racial background or national origin. Potential college students should directly contact schools close to them, or others of their choice.